

Crusade Texts in Translation

THE CONQUEST OF THE HOLY LAND BY ŞALĀḤ AL-DĪN

A CRITICAL EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF THE
ANONYMOUS *LIBELLUS DE EXPUGNATIONE TERRAE
SANCTAE PER SALADINUM*

Keagan Brewer and James H. Kane

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THE CONQUEST OF THE HOLY LAND BY ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN

The *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum* (or Little Book about the Conquest of the Holy Land by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) is the most substantial contemporary Latin account of the conquest of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187. Seemingly written by a churchman who was in Jerusalem itself when the city was besieged and captured, the *Libellus* fuses historical narrative and biblical exegesis in an attempt to recount and interpret the loss of the Holy Land, an event that provoked an outpouring of grief throughout western Christendom and sparked the Third Crusade. This book provides an English translation of the *Libellus* accompanied by a new, comprehensive critical edition of the Latin text and a detailed study in the introduction.

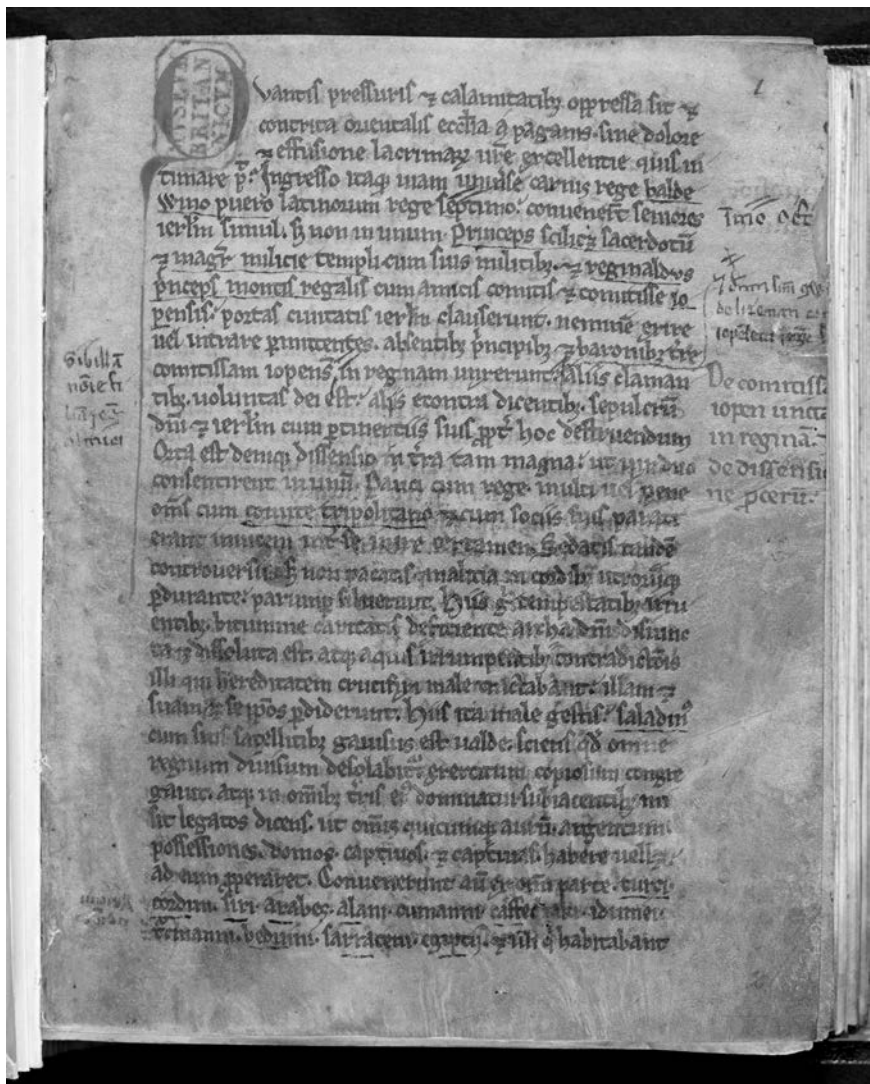
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fol. 2r of MS. C of the *Libellus*, the earliest exemplar.

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THE CONQUEST OF
THE HOLY LAND BY
ŞALĀḤ AL-DĪN

A critical edition and translation of the
anonymous *Libellus de expugnatione
Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum*

Keagan Brewer and James H. Kane

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In loving memory of Jenny Green:
medievalist extraordinaire and incomparable friend

*Lors veissiez mult gent plorer,
e li rois sanz plus demorer,
qui encore ert mult desheitiez,
entra en mer a lor congiez,
e fist al vent lever les veilles
e curut la nuit as esteilles.*

(Ambroise, *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 12283–12288)



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CONTENTS

<i>List of illustrations</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xv
<i>Maps</i>	xviii
INTRODUCTION	1
<i>Structure</i>	2
<i>Historical background</i>	3
<i>Summary of text</i>	5
<i>Reliability and authorship of Part I</i>	9
<i>Style, language, and exegesis</i>	51
<i>The continuation (Parts II and III)</i>	63
<i>Manuscripts</i>	67
<i>Relationships between the manuscripts</i>	95
<i>Date</i>	96
<i>Notices, editions, and translations</i>	98
<i>Principles of edition and translation</i>	105
<i>Sigla used in this edition</i>	107
LIBELLUS DE EXPUGNATIONE TERRAE SANCTAE PER SALADINUM	108
<i>Appendix 1—Ralph of Coggeshall's Chronicon Anglicanum: sources for 1187</i>	246
<i>Appendix 2—Gazetteer</i>	249
<i>Appendix 3—Biblical references</i>	257
<i>Bibliography</i>	261
<i>Index</i>	272



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ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps

- 1 The Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187. Reproduced by permission of Peter Edbury from idem, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (Aldershot, 1996). xviii
- 2 The Battle of Ḥattīn (3–4 July 1187). Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press from John France, *Hattin* (Oxford, 2015). xix
- 3 Jerusalem in the twelfth century. Reproduced by permission of Informa UK Ltd from Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, landscape and art in the Holy City under Frankish rule* (London and New York, 2001). xx

Figures

Frontispiece: fol. 2r of MS. C of the *Libellus*, the earliest exemplar. Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

- 1 Hand 1 on fol. 18r of MS. C of the *Libellus*, the final page of Part I. Reproduced by permission of the British Library. 70
- 2 Hand 2 on fol. 18v of MS. C of the *Libellus*, the first page of Part II. Reproduced by permission of the British Library. 71
- 3 fol. 110r of Cotton Vespasian D. X, the autograph manuscript of Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*. Reproduced by permission of the British Library. 73
- 4 Stemma depicting the relationship between the manuscripts of the *Libellus*. 95

PREFACE

This project began nearly ten years ago at the University of Sydney under the leadership of Associate Professor John H. Pryor. It emerged from a special subject on the sources for the Third Crusade that John taught in 2008 and 2009 to a small group of undergraduate students completing or planning to complete Honours in Medieval Studies. That group of students included the authors of this book. What initially drew us all to this unusual text with its curious reference to the man with the arrow through his nose is difficult to say, but we soon decided to collaborate on a new edition and translation of ‘the *Libellus*’.

Our leading lights in those early days were John himself and our friend and fellow student Jenny Green. Thanks to John’s firm guidance and meticulous scholarship, and Jenny’s boundless enthusiasm for the project, work proceeded quickly at first. It was a wonderful time of shared historical passion and scholarly discovery that coincided with a blossoming of undergraduate Medieval Studies at the University of Sydney and, at least for the two of us, played a crucial role in making us the historians we are today. A particular highlight for all of us was the week in January 2009 that we spent producing our initial translation at John’s home away from home at Jervis Bay on the south coast of New South Wales. This was a process that naturally called for a steady supply of wine and led to some robust discussions—many of them topical rather than strictly on-topic. (Jenny’s unforgettable claim one morning that she had dreamed of polar bears sitting on shrinking ice floes and singing lines from the Lamentations of Jeremiah should give a sense of the range of issues we touched on.) But the week was ultimately very productive. By the end of 2009, we had a working translation of the text, facsimiles of all four medieval manuscripts, and the beginnings of a collation.

Momentum on the project steadily ebbed over the next few years. By the time the two authors of this book began their respective doctoral studies in Sydney and Cambridge, the other main contributors had moved on to different projects, degrees, jobs, or life priorities. John himself was becoming increasingly (and understandably) preoccupied with a complex project on the primary chronicles of the First Crusade that will hopefully be

published in the near future. Due to these various commitments, all work on the *Libellus* effectively stalled. It was only in 2015 that we held some scattered discussions about the possibility of reigniting the project. Whether any future efforts would involve all of us was unclear at the time, but two unforeseen events (one tragic, and one nearly so) in as many years resolved that question for us cruelly and decisively.

The first and most painful blow came in November 2015, when Jenny passed away. Though she had been unwell since July, her death came as a complete shock and left us utterly heartbroken. Jenny was a supremely talented and instinctive medievalist who had an astounding knowledge of the Vulgate Bible, a profound grasp of exegesis, and an ability to draw connections with a deftness that regularly left her peers and teachers stunned. She was also a unique and irreplaceable friend. Her absence from this world is a gaping wound that will never heal, and we cannot imagine dedicating this book to anybody but her.

The second blow, and the one that nearly derailed the entire project, struck later in the following year when John had a serious accident. Fortunately, he was able to make a significant recovery, but the accident prompted him to relinquish this edition and translation to us so that he could free up time to work on his other major projects. We want to thank John here not only for showing enough faith in us to hand over all his material on the *Libellus* and encouraging us to see the project through, but for all his leadership, wisdom, and friendship over the years. His insistence on passionate, rigorous, and tireless enquiry has inspired both of us ever since we first attended his undergraduate lectures on the history of the crusades. If we have become even moderately respectable scholars, then that is in large part due to the foundations that John laid in his teaching. We owe him more than we can say.

Our renewed collaboration on the project began in early 2017 with a complete revision of the collective translation made in 2009. We then divided the labour between us so as to make completing the book by the end of 2018 a feasible goal. James Kane focused on revising and finishing the earlier collation of the medieval manuscripts, then drew up the edition itself, together with the critical apparatus. Keagan Brewer wrote the bulk of the introduction down to but not including the section on manuscripts, finalised the footnotes to the translation, and prepared the back matter on the basis of research done by the original team. In recent months we have cross-checked each other's writing, combed the edition and translation for errors using detailed feedback from proof-readers, and revised certain problematic passages in the introduction and translation.

It should be clear from this discussion that a good deal of the material in this book owes its inclusion to the hard work, skills, insights, and ideas of our early collaborators, especially John Pryor, Jenny Green, and Deyel Dalziel-Charlier. We thank them all for their contributions and regret that their names have not appeared on this volume alongside ours. For their

PREFACE

proof-reading efforts and advice, we are very grateful to Hazel Freestone, Paul Reisner, and Linda Stone. Paul's meticulous reading of our translation against the edition was particularly valuable in helping us to remedy certain grammatical infelicities and occasional outright semantic errors in the closing stages of the project, and we would like to thank him sincerely for his Herculean efforts. We want to express our deepest thanks to Peter Edbury and Massimiliano Gaggero, whose work on the new edition of the *Chronicle of Ernoul* we eagerly anticipate, for their enthusiasm for this project over the years and their advice on many related points. Peter, in particular, has our sincerest thanks for his close attention to detail, which saved us from a variety of errors in the final stages of the project. We are also extremely grateful to James Willoughby for corresponding with us and sharing his expertise on palaeographical matters as we were writing the introduction. The publishing staff at Routledge, including Robert Langham, Michael Bourne, Julie Fitzsimons, and Michael Greenwood all have our thanks for their help and advice over the past 18 months. Last, but far from least, we want to thank our partners, Kelvin Tang and Stephanie Wong, for their love and support in everything, and especially for bearing with us during our long mental (and sometimes physical) absences over the past few years.

Like all editions and translations, this book is not so much an end in itself as an invitation. As we hope will be clear from our introduction and notes, there is scope for far more research on the *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum* than currently exists. Our primary aim in preparing the book has been to stimulate that research and encourage scholars from all backgrounds to bring their expertise to bear. We firmly believe that not just historians, but palaeographers, codicologists, linguists, literary experts, theologians, archaeologists, geographers, and scholars from many other disciplines will be able to shed further light on the text. But we also hope that the book proves useful and interesting to the intended audience of our translation: students and general readers who have an interest in the history of the crusades, as well as scholars whose research careers are built around the subject. This unique and important source for the events that led to the Third Crusade has not yet revealed all its secrets. We hope that all readers enjoy trying to decrypt it as much as we have.

Keagan Brewer and James Kane
Sydney, Australia
November 2018

ABBREVIATIONS

- Abū l-Fidā'** *Tarīkhu 'al-mukhtasar fī akhbār al-bashar*, trans. William McGuckin, a.k.a. Baron de Slane, in *RHC Or.*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1872), pp. 1–165.
- Abū Shāma** *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, trans. A.-C. Barbier de Menard, *RHC Or.*, vols 3–4 (Paris, 1898–1906).
- Ambroise** *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. Catherine Croizy-Naquet (Paris, 2014); ed. and trans. Marianne Ailes, with notes by Malcolm Barber, *The History of the Holy War*, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 2003).
- CCCM** Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis.
- CCSL** Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.
- Colbert-Fontainebleau** *Eracles* *RHC Occ.*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1859).
- Encyclopaedia of Islam** *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. Peri Bearman et al., first published online 2012, available at <<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2>>.
- Ernoul-Bernard** *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871).
- History of the Patriarchs** *The History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, trans. Antoine Khater and O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, vol. 3, pt 2 (Cairo, 1970).
- Ibn al-'Adīm** *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī'l tarīkh Ḥalab*, trans. Edouard Blochet in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1896), pp. 145–225.
- Ibn al-Athīr** *al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, trans. Donald S. Richards, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period*, 3 vols (Aldershot, 2006–2008).
- Ibn Shaddād** Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya wa'l-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya*, trans. Donald S. Richards, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin* (Aldershot, 2002).

ABBREVIATIONS

- ‘Imād al-Dīn** ‘Imād al-Dīn al-İṣfahānī, *al-Faṭḥ al-qussī fī l-faṭḥ al-quḍṣī*, trans. Henri Massé, *La conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin* (Paris, 1972).
- IP1** Hans Eberhard Mayer (ed.), *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum: eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, Schriften der MGH, vol. 18 (Stuttgart, 1962).
- IP2** *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, William Stubbs (ed.), in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, 2 vols (London, 1864–1865), vol. 1; trans. Helen J. Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Aldershot, 1997).
- Jerome, Liber interpretationis** *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, ed. Paul de Lagarde, *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera*, CCSL, vol. 72 (Turnhout, 1959), pp. 57–161.
- John of Würzburg** *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, vol. 139 (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 78–141.
- Latin Continuation** Marianne Salloch (ed.), *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus* (Leipzig, 1934).
- Lyon Eracles** *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, ed. Margaret Ruth Morgan, Documents relatifs à l’histoire des croisades publiés par l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, vol. 14 (Paris, 1982); trans. Peter Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (Aldershot, 1996).
- Lyons and Jackson** Malcolm Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982).
- al-Maḳrīzī** *al-Sulūk li-ma’rifat al-mulūk*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst, *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt* (Boston, 1980).
- Mayer, Urkunden** Hans Eberhard Mayer (ed.), *Die Urkunden der Lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem: Diplomata regum Latinorum Jerosolimorum*, 4 vols (Hannover, 2010).
- MGH** Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
- MGH, SS.** Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores.
- ODNB** *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- PL** J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, 217 vols (Paris, 1841–55).

ABBREVIATIONS

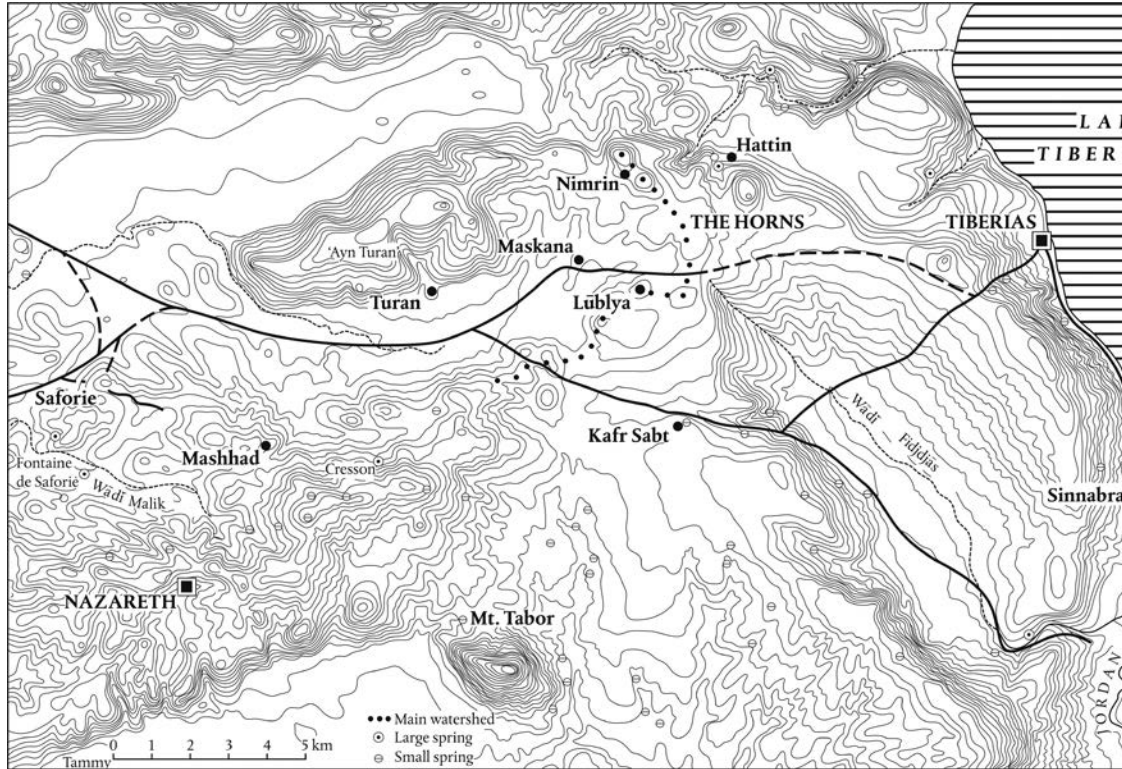
- Pringle, *Churches*** Denys Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1993–2009).
- Pringle, *Secular Buildings*** Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Gazetteer* (Cambridge, 1997).
- Prutz** Hans Prutz (ed.), *Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Danzig, 1876).
- Ralph of Coggeshall** *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London, 1875), pp. 1–208.
- RHC** *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, 16 vols.
- Occ.** *Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols (Paris, 1841–1895).
- Or.** *Historiens orientaux*, 5 vols (Paris, 1872–1906).
- Roger of Howden, *Gesta*** *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols (London, 1867).
- Roger of Howden, *Chronica*** ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols (London, 1868–1871).
- RRRH** Jonathan Riley-Smith et al. (eds), *Revised Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani Database*, available at <www.crusades-regesta.com>.
- RS** Rolls Series.
- Saewulf** *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM*, vol. 139 (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 58–77.
- Theoderic** *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM*, vol. 139 (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 142–97.
- William of Tyre** *Willelmi Tyrensis archiepiscopi chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM*, vols 63–63A (Turnhout, 1986); trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and August C. Krey, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 2 vols (New York, 1943).

MAPS



Map 1: The Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187

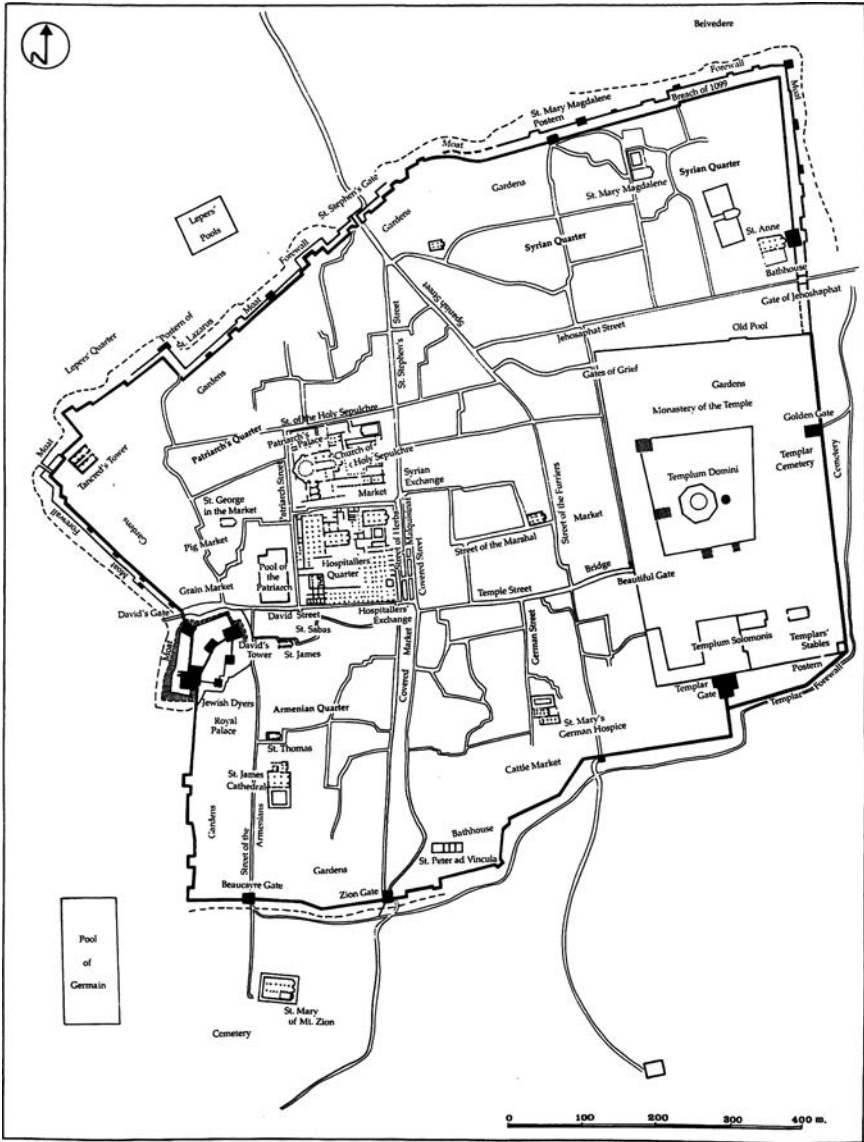
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Map 2: The Battle of Ḥattīn (3–4 July 1187)

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MAPS



Map 3: Jerusalem in the twelfth century
 Reproduced by permission of Informa UK Ltd.

INTRODUCTION

The *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum* (literally, the *Little Book about the Conquest of the Holy Land by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*) describes the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 to Muslim forces under the command of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (1138–1193), sultan of Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo.¹ The Latin text that forms the core of the *Libellus* may have been written within a few years of the events it recounts, but the identity of the original author remains unknown. His work was fused with an abbreviated account of the Third Crusade at the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall in Essex at some point in the early thirteenth century. The *Libellus* as it stands today is the product of that moment of textual synthesis.

While rich in detail as a source for the historical narrative of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's invasion, complementing other Western sources such as the *Chronicle of Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier* (henceforth *Ernoul-Bernard*), the Lyon and Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, the two recensions of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, and various letters sent from the Holy Land to Europe, the *Libellus* is also valuable because of its distinctive stylistic approach, characterised by dense exegetical digressions and scriptural allusions. The author laments the loss of the Holy Land, weaving the biblical history of Jerusalem and the Holy Places into

¹ Hereafter referred to as 'the *Libellus*'. We have used this title (invented by Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand in 1729) throughout. No medieval scribe provided a title in any of the extant manuscripts. The title *C(h)ronicon* or *C(h)ronica*, added in later hands in some manuscripts, presents the text as a chronicle, but it is in fact much more than that. The Latin word '*libellus*' was used in the Middle Ages to denote a polemical or exegetical treatise, which better captures the essence of this text. Thus, we have also eschewed Martène and Durand's other invented title: *Chronicon Terrae Sanctae* (*The Chronicle of the Holy Land*). The English title of this book, *The Conquest of the Holy Land by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, is an abbreviated rendering of the Latin one, and is modelled on the title of Graham Loud's 2010 translation. On the manuscripts and previous editions and translations of the *Libellus*, see below, pp. 95–105.

a tale of despair for Catholic Christendom and blaming the Christian residents for their spiritual and political lassitude. The text therefore provides eloquent testimony to how contemporaries understood the fall of Jerusalem in both emotional and spiritual terms.

Structure

In its surviving form, the *Libellus* is a compilation. It has three distinct parts, although none of the four extant medieval manuscripts explicitly identifies them as separate components. These parts are as follows:

- 1 Part I, consisting of Chapters I to XXVI, is an account of events in the Latin East from the death of King Baldwin V on 13 September 1186 to the Muslim occupation of Jerusalem on 2 October 1187, with a focus on the loss of Christian holy sites.
- 2 Part II, consisting of Chapter XXVII, is a continuation made up primarily of short extracts from the second recension of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, attributed by William Stubbs to Richard de Templo, prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate from 1222 to 1248/50.² This text, commonly known as *IP2*, is itself a reworking of an earlier Latin chronicle of the Third Crusade, known as *IP1*, and Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, a participant's account of the crusading exploits of King Richard I of England during the Third Crusade in rhymed Old French verse. Part II of the *Libellus* ends: 'If anyone desires to know more ... let him read the book which the lord prior of Holy Trinity, London had translated (*transferri fecit*) from the French tongue into Latin in a style as elegant as [it is] truthful.'³ The Latin text mentioned is the *IP2*; the French text is the *Estoire*. Part II of the *Libellus* summarises the events of the Third Crusade down to the arrival of Richard I and King Philip II of France at the siege of Acre in the summer of 1191.
- 3 Part III, consisting of Chapters XXVIII and XXIX, comprises two bellicose letters also preserved in the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* and circulating independently: one purporting to be from Frederick Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor, to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the other allegedly recording Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's reply.⁴

² For a detailed discussion of this attribution, see below, pp. 78–9, 81.

³ See below, pp. 28, 78–9.

⁴ On the circulation of these letters, see Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Der Brief Kaiser Friedrichs I. an Saladin vom Jahre 1188', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 14 (1958), pp. 488–94, reprinted in Mayer, *Kreuzzüge und lateinischer Osten* (London, 1983); Hannes Möhring, *Saladin und der dritte Kreuzzug: aiyubidische Strategie und Diplomatie im Vergleich vornehmlich der arabischen mit den lateinischen Quellen* (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 93–137.

Given that Parts II and III are largely derivative, Part I is the most valuable to historians. It therefore forms the focus of the following discussion.

Historical background

The *Libellus* does not discuss the complex political backdrop of the years 1185–1187, which will be recounted here briefly for the sake of providing context.⁵ The Kingdom of Jerusalem was one of the four Latin states that were established during and after the conquest of Jerusalem by the armies of the First Crusade. This kingdom was ruled by a dynasty beginning with Baldwin I (r. 1100–1118). It came under increasing pressure from surrounding Muslim polities as the twelfth century wore on. By the 1180s, the Kingdom was under the rule of Baldwin IV, a leper who never married and had no heir.

The death of Baldwin IV in early 1185 left his infant nephew, Baldwin V, as king of Jerusalem, with Count Raymond III of Tripoli as regent (*bailli*). Raymond was the closest male relative to Baldwin IV after Baldwin V.⁶ Prior to Baldwin IV's death, his vassals had sworn that if Baldwin V died in his infancy, then the crown would fall either to Sibylla, Baldwin V's mother, or Isabella, Baldwin IV's half-sister, and that the choice between the two women would rest with the pope, the emperor of Germany, and the kings of England and France.⁷ In 1184, with Baldwin IV's ailing health obvious—towards the end, he could not see, walk, or use his hands—an embassy led by Patriarch Eraclius and Roger des Moulins, Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller, travelled to Europe to seek a new king to

⁵ There have been many treatments of this subject matter; two of the best are Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader States* (New Haven, 2012), pp. 289–323 and Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and his Heirs* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 186–234. Most of the key figures have been considered in detail: Benjamin Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius', in B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail (eds), *Outremer* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 177–204; Bernard Hamilton, 'The elephant of Christ: Reynald of Châtillon', *Studies in Church History*, vol. 15 (1978), pp. 97–108; R. C. Smail, 'The predicaments of Guy of Lusignan, 1183–1187', in *Outremer*, pp. 159–76; Bernard Hamilton, 'Women in the crusader states: the queens of Jerusalem, 1100–90' in Derek Baker (ed.), *Medieval Women* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 143–74; Malcolm Barber, 'The reputation of Gerard de Ridefort', in Judi Upton-Ward (ed.), *The Military Orders*, vol. 4 (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 111–119; Marshall W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripolis (1140–87) and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Princeton, 1934); Kevin James Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli and Lebanon in the Twelfth Century: Sons of St Gilles* (London, 2017). See also Peter Edbury, 'Propaganda and Faction in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: The Background to Hattin', in Maya Shatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria* (Leiden, 1993), pp. 173–89.

⁶ See, for instance, the family tree in Hamilton, *The Leper King*, p. xviii.

⁷ Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 205–7.

forestall the looming crisis of succession.⁸ In late 1185, Eraclius returned frustrated: both King Henry II of England (himself the grandson of King Fulk of Jerusalem) and King Philip II of France had refused to go, but sent money and men in their stead.⁹

When Baldwin V died of illness at the age of nine on 13 September 1186, the crisis commenced.¹⁰ Raymond sought to undermine Sibylla and, many contemporaries alleged, take the crown for himself.¹¹ However, Malcolm Barber has aptly remarked that succession ‘was usually settled by speed rather than legal argument’, and Sibylla’s allies moved faster.¹² Raymond, so the Old French sources say, called a council in Nablus to discuss the succession with the barons of the Kingdom. Meanwhile, Sibylla closed the gates of Jerusalem and was crowned by Eraclius, who allowed her to choose a man to marry and rule with, as previously agreed by the high court (*haute cour*). When given the king’s crown, Sibylla placed it on the head of her husband, Guy de Lusignan.¹³ Doubts have been raised about this depiction of the coronation because it stems from sources hostile to Guy and breaks from coronation custom. Yet some Arabic accounts portray it in a similar way.¹⁴ Whatever the exact circumstances, the elevation of Guy was an act of daring, for he was widely disliked. This was partly because—as a native of Poitou in France—he was a foreigner, and partly because of his perceived incompetence and his previous insubordination of Baldwin IV, who had been generally respected despite his leprosy.¹⁵ Prior to the coronation, Sibylla had been pressured to divorce Guy, and Roger of Howden reports that she had agreed to the divorce, but she upheld the morality of the age with impunity in maintaining loyalty to her husband and refusing to dissolve their marriage.¹⁶

⁸ On Baldwin IV’s leprosy, see Piers Mitchell, ‘An evaluation of the leprosy of King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem in the context of the medieval world’, in Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 245–58.

⁹ Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 213–14. Henry II’s money was partly used to hire mercenaries, for which see below, pp. 134–35. Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 316 reports that most of those who went to the Holy Land as a result of Eraclius’ embassy returned to Europe after their arrival around Easter 1186 because they were disappointed that the Kingdom had struck a truce with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Two who remained in Outremer were Roger de Mowbray and Hugh de Beauchamp.

¹⁰ Mayer, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, p. 768 supplies the date of death.

¹¹ Onward references in Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 207, 217–224.

¹² Barber, *The Crusader States*, p. 293.

¹³ *Ernoul*, c. XI (pp. 131–2); Lyon *Eraclius*, §17, pp. 31–2 (trans. Edbury, pp. 24–5); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eraclius*, XXIII.xvii (p. 27).

¹⁴ Kedar, ‘The Patriarch Eraclius’, p. 196; Peter Edbury and John Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 20–22; Lyons and Jackson, p. 247.

¹⁵ Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 196–8.

¹⁶ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, pp. 315–16.

The powerful Ibelin family declined to support Guy, while others, such as Roger des Moulins, did so only with hesitation. Raymond's council of barons sent two Cistercian abbots to Jerusalem to forbid the coronation on the basis that it contravened the oath they had sworn to Baldwin IV, but the envoys did not achieve their aim. The barons in Nablus then nominated Isabella's husband, Humphrey of Toron, as king, but he rode through the night to submit to Sibylla in Jerusalem, preventing an outright civil war. Gerard de Ridefort, Grand Master of the Knights Templar, had a grudge against Raymond, at least partly because Raymond had promised him the hand of Cécile Dorel, the heiress of Batrūn, then shunted him by marrying her off to a rich Pisan merchant, Plivain.¹⁷ After Guy's coronation, Gerard advised the new king to besiege Raymond's stronghold at Tiberias. Around the same time, Sibylla's uncle, Joscelin III of Edessa, seized Beirut, which was part of the royal demesne, and from which Raymond used the revenues to compensate for his expenses as regent. By this point, Raymond was cornered. He sought an agreement with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and Muslim troops garrisoned Tiberias to forestall Guy's offensive. A contemporary Muslim source, 'Imād al-Dīn, alleges that Raymond would have been willing to convert to Islam if Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn were to dethrone Guy and give the kingship to Raymond.¹⁸ This would have been folly, as it neglected Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's commitment to *jihād*, which demanded that he recapture Jerusalem for Islam. The *Libellus*, with its relatively positive portrayal of Raymond, only hints at his misdeeds, while maintaining a more obvious disdain for King Guy and his ally Patriarch Eraclius, the most senior clergyman of the Kingdom.¹⁹

Summary of text

In its surviving form, the *Libellus* opens with a rhetorical question: 'Who is able to make known to Your Excellency without grief and an effusion of tears under what great burdens and calamities the Eastern Church has been oppressed and crushed by the pagans?'²⁰ It makes sense that the author

¹⁷ Lewis, *Counts of Tripoli*, pp. 249–52.

¹⁸ 'Imād al-Dīn, in Abū Shāma, vol. 4, p. 258. Many contemporary and later detractors accused Raymond of converting to Islam: see Baldwin, *Raymond III*, p. 84, n. 35. It may be that Raymond made the suggestion to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as clever double-dealing. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn is on record as having described Raymond as duplicitous on multiple occasions: see Lyons and Jackson, pp. 197, 251.

¹⁹ The *Libellus* shares these tendencies with the Old French sources, for which see below, pp. 36–41. For the hints about Raymond, see pp. 19–20, 22, 42–4. For criticisms of Guy and Eraclius, see pp. 21–3. On Raymond's portrayal in other sources, see Lewis, *Counts of Tripoli*, pp. 234–84; Baldwin, *Raymond III*, pp. 156–60.

²⁰ *Libellus*, c. I: *Quantis pressuris et calamitatibus oppressa sit et contrita orientalis ecclesia a paganis, sine dolore et effusione lacrimarum uestre excellentie quis intromare potest?* All translations from the *Libellus* and other texts are our own, unless stated otherwise in the notes.

neglects the political backdrop outlined above, since his stated purpose is to communicate the destruction wrought by the Muslims on the Eastern Church (that is, the Catholic Church of the Latin East). This opening coheres with the end of Part I, which describes the tearing down of the cross atop the Dome of the Rock (the *Templum Domini* or ‘Temple of the Lord’), the intrusion of Muslims into the Holy Sepulchre, and the spoliation of Calvary, the very site of Christ’s crucifixion.²¹ Moreover, the symbolic closing of the gates of Jerusalem by Sibylla at the text’s commencement, and then again by the Muslims at the end of Part I, provides a cyclical structure that renders the narrative from Chapter I to Chapter XXVI a fully-conceived whole.²² The identity of the individual addressed as ‘Your Excellency’ (*uestra excellentia*) remains unknown, though the title would appear to indicate a person of status, such as an abbot or archbishop, or conceivably a cardinal or pope.²³ Because of its complex exegetical style and spiritual focus, we find it unlikely that the *Libellus* was intended for a secular authority such as a king, even though monarchs were often addressed in this way.²⁴

After the opening, the text progresses as follows. The coronation of Queen Sibylla causes such division in the Kingdom that it triggers the destruction of the Eastern Church, with Guy and Raymond in conflict almost to the point of violence. Şalāḥ al-Dīn becomes aware of this discord and sends an army from Syria to ravage Galilee by night. (The *Libellus* does not refer to Şalāḥ al-Dīn’s attack on Kerak, which commenced on 26 April 1187, nor the attack of Sa’d al-Dīn, a son of Şalāḥ al-Dīn’s nephew Taqī al-Dīn,

²¹ On this point we differ from William Stubbs, who believed that Part I was unfinished: see *IP2*, pp. lvii–lviii.

²² On the biblical motif of the closed gates of Jerusalem (Ezekiel 44:1–3) and its significance for the crusaders, see Nicholas L. Paul, ‘*Porta clausa*: Trial and Triumph at the Gates of Jerusalem’, in Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (eds), *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 89–104.

²³ Ronald E. Latham et al., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, vol. 1 [A–L] (Oxford, 1997), p. 829 lists possible domains of meaning as ‘title: royal, papal, archiepiscopal, and other’.

²⁴ Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem sent two letters in 1187: one to Pope Urban III, full of biblical language, and another to Europe’s secular princes focusing on the loss of lives and territories, showing that writers could and did adjust their styles to suit different audiences. See Rudolf Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius III [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge 136] (Göttingen, 1985), pp. 324–7 (n° 149) and Nikolas Jaspert, ‘Zwei unbekanntes Hilfsersuchen des Patriarchen Eraclius vor dem Fall Jerusalems (1187)’, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. 60 (2004), pp. 483–516. A letter of Aimery, Patriarch of Antioch, written around October 1187, addresses King Henry II as ‘your excellency’: Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 340.

on the northern towns of Antioch and Darbsāk in May 1187.)²⁵ At dawn, the residents of Nazareth see the Muslims ravaging, and raise the alarm. Awakened by the din, the Masters of the Temple and Hospital give speeches to rouse the Nazarenes to battle, then the Christians fight manfully at the Battle of Cresson despite their numerical inferiority. But the Muslims feign flight and then surround the Christian forces, decimating them. The author praises their martyrdom with reference to the Song of Songs, and the Master of the Temple escapes. The author then laments the death of the fallen Christians, and particularly the martyrdom of Roger des Moulins and two warriors named Jakelin de Mailly (a Templar) and Henry of the Hospital. The Saracens return across the Jordan towards Syria. Raymond signals his intention to do homage to Guy in Jerusalem, and messengers are sent on his behalf. Guy and Raymond meet and embrace near the Cistern of Joseph, travel together to Jerusalem, and venerate the relic of the True Cross, then Raymond returns to Tiberias while Guy remains in Jerusalem to assemble an army.

The Christian armies assemble at Şaffūrīyah. The patriarch is tasked with bringing the Holy Cross from Jerusalem, but the author casts implicit doubt on his character. Eraclius transfers custodianship of the Holy Cross to the bishops of Lydda and Acre. A contingent of Syrians crosses the Jordan and ravages Galilee with fire. Şalāḥ al-Dīn himself crosses the river and besieges Tiberias on 2 July 1187. The men of Galilee and the countess of Tripoli (Eschiva of Bures, wife of Raymond of Tripoli) send messages to Guy and Raymond requesting aid, but the city is taken and set on fire, bar the citadel. The author lists the biblical miracles that took place in the vicinity of Tiberias. Guy and Raymond receive the Galileans' messages, and Guy and his military commanders decide to advance their armies towards Tiberias. Raymond laments the fall of Tiberias, warns that the summer is hot and that the army's water supplies are lacking, and proposes that the Christians should therefore stay put and await the Muslims' advance. Raymond's advice is not heeded, and the author accuses Guy and his supporters of folly.

On 3 July 1187, the army marches forth, reaching Maskana ravaged by thirst and worn down by the Muslim attacks. The Muslims charge the rear, and Guy ill-advisedly orders the Christians to pitch their tents. The author laments the ruinous journey of the Christian army through the dry desert, likening the event to the biblical exodus. Through the night, the Saracens attack, which continues into the day of 4 July 1187, marking the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn. Şalāḥ al-Dīn sallies forth from Tiberias to join the battle. When the Saracens attack, Guy twice requests the aid of the foot soldiers (some of whom were presumably mercenaries paid with part of Henry II's treasure), but they twice refuse, citing excessive thirst. The Christians are routed.

²⁵ Lyons and Jackson, pp. 248–51.

The custodians of the Holy Cross, the bishops of Acre and Lydda, perish. Raymond of Tripoli, Balian of Ibelin, Reynald of Sidon, and others barely escape with their lives, while King Guy and others are captured. The author laments the deaths of the Christians and the capture of the Holy Cross. Reynald de Châtillon is executed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn offers those remaining in the citadel of Tiberias the opportunity to depart safely. They do so, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn camps and celebrates at Ṣaffūrīyah.

The author then summarily describes Saif al-Dīn's conquest of the regions south and west of Jerusalem. His forces capture Jaffa with much slaughter, then take Mirabel, allowing the residents safe passage. Shifting the narrative northwards once more, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's dispersed armies ravage the region to the north of Jerusalem and the coast from Haifa southwards to Ramla, Lydda, and Jaffa. The Muslims conquer Nazareth, the Lord's Leap, and locations in the Jezreel Valley, and the author laments the conquest of places of spiritual significance. The Muslims capture Sebaste, Nablus, Jacob's Well, Endor, Na'im, Belvoir, Baisan, Jericho, the Mount of Temptation, and Ma'ale Adumim. The author explains the spiritual significance of many of these places. The Jerusalemites are in consternation. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn rouses his army's lust for blood and riches, and they approach Acre. The residents beg for mercy, and he offers them the choice to depart safely or remain in Acre, convert to Islam, and accept circumcision. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn leaves Acre to the command of one of his sons, and departs southwards for 'Phoenicia'.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn unsuccessfully attempts to conquer Tyre, and the author praises its defender, Conrad, son of the captured marquis of Montferrat. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn leaves to conquer Ṣarafand, Sidon, Beirut, and Jubail, then returns to Acre to regroup. The forces of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and Saif al-Dīn unite to besiege Ascalon and the Templar castle of Gaza. They capture Gaza, and the Ascalonites negotiate an exchange of prisoners, including King Guy, in return for the surrender of Ascalon. There is a solar eclipse. The Jerusalemites fear their fate. The Muslims capture Bait Jibrīn. The author then lists the holy places around Jerusalem sacked by the Muslims, explaining the biblical significance of each. The Muslims then besiege Jerusalem over several weeks, and the Christian defences gradually dwindle. Some honourably accept martyrdom, while others sinfully attempt flight. The Jerusalemites attempt unsuccessfully to negotiate terms with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn whereby the Christians would maintain possession of Jerusalem. Instead, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn imposes the terms according to which the residents have to ransom their freedom. The author accuses the Christians of shamefully paying Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to be disinherited of the Holy City, while the poor are unable to pay. The author compares those responsible to Judas. Jerusalem is surrendered to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who has the Ḥaram al-Sharīf (Temple Mount) ritually cleansed. The golden cross atop the Dome of the Rock is cast down and Christians are denied entry to the Ḥaram al-Sharīf. Part I of the text concludes with the plundering of the Holy Sepulchre.

Chapter XXVII marks the commencement of Part II, which was almost certainly composed at Coggeshall. The style of this continuation differs markedly from that of Part I. The exegetical flavour disappears completely, there is a greater attention to providing names, and the pace of the narrative quickens. Stubbs noted that Parts I and II use different forms for the names and titles of Conrad of Montferrat and Guy de Lusignan.²⁶ Furthermore, James Willoughby has rightly pointed out that MS. C changes hand and ink at precisely the point where the stylistic shift occurs.²⁷ Part II (Chapter XXVII) describes the voyage of Joscius, Archbishop of Tyre, to Europe to deliver news of Jerusalem's fall, the taking of the cross by Richard I of England, Philip II of France, and Frederick I (Barbarossa), Holy Roman Emperor, as well as Frederick's drowning in the River Saleph. It also recounts King Guy's release from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's custody and the events of the siege of Acre down to the arrival of Philip II and Richard I. The reader is then directed to *IP2* for further information.

Chapters XXVIII and XXIX (i.e. Part III) contain Frederick Barbarossa's letter to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and the latter's alleged reply.²⁸

Reliability and authorship of Part I

In the extant manuscripts, the *Libellus* circulated without authorial attribution.²⁹ However, internal evidence indicates that the original author of Part I was in Jerusalem during the siege (September–October 1187). Given his intimate knowledge of the geography of the Holy Land, it seems likely that the author was a resident of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but he may also have been a visitor who became swept up in the drama of 1187. The consistent use of biblical phraseology and allusions strongly suggests that he was a churchman. Other evidence proves that Parts II and III were added at Coggeshall, together with possible minor alterations to Part I. How the original text got to Coggeshall, however, is a complete mystery. Textual and palaeographical evidence reveals that the continuation was carried out by somebody close to Ralph, who was abbot of Coggeshall from 1207 to 1218 and died *c.* 1227. Although the view, popular for a time, that Ralph himself authored the entire text is no longer tenable, we certainly owe the preservation of the *Libellus* to the monastic community at Coggeshall.³⁰

²⁶ Stubbs, in *IP2*, p. lviii.

²⁷ James Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle of the Third Crusade: origin and transmission', *Medium Aevum*, vol. 81 (2012), pp. 126–134, here p. 127.

²⁸ See Mayer, 'Der Brief Kaiser Friedrichs I. an Saladin'; *IP2*, trans. Nicholson, p. 49, n. 68, and p. 51, n. 75.

²⁹ The only attributions provided on the manuscripts are in early modern marginal hands, on which see below, pp. 67–95.

³⁰ Below at pp. 26–9.

The identity of the original author remains unknown. Part I was perhaps written within a few years of 1187. It may have been composed at Tyre prior to or during the Third Crusade, or at Acre in the course of the siege of 1189–1191.³¹ It is also possible that the *Libellus* was written in Europe if the author journeyed there after the fall of Jerusalem or the Third Crusade. In any case, he clearly drew on a version of *Ernoul-Bernard*, oral sources, and possibly other written texts.

No external primary sources refer to the *Libellus*, although Ralph of Coggeshall—or at least, a scribe working under his direction—borrows from it without attribution in the *Chronicon Anglicanum* entry for 1187.³² There are five uses of the first person in the *Libellus*, four of which are rhetorical flourishes.³³ In Chapter XIV, in describing the defeat of the Christian armies at the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, the author writes: ‘Woe to wretched me, that in the days of my wretched life I am forced to see such things’, but it would be overly literal to interpret this as evidence that the author was physically present at Ḥaṭṭīn.³⁴ In Chapter XVI, when shifting between accounts of the armies of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his brother Saif al-Dīn, the author explains that ‘it seems proper to us, indeed, to tell it briefly in a short and rough report (*sermo*), just as we saw and heard it, and also to make it known, just as it happened, to those who do not know or did not see [it]’. This reveals that the author’s purpose, at least in part, was to provide a historical narrative about Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s attack.³⁵ The use of the word ‘*sermo*’ in this passage does not mean that the *Libellus* was intended literally as a sermon; other uses of ‘*sermo*’ throughout bear the sense of ‘speech’ or ‘report’.³⁶

The more instructive first-person and third-person usages occur in Chapter XXIII, which describes the siege of Jerusalem. The author claims he was present during the siege:

I myself heard with my own ears a herald crying out between the great wall and the curtain wall, on behalf of the lord patriarch and

³¹ For a full account of the siege of Acre, see John D. Hosler, *The Siege of Acre 1189–1191: Saladin, Richard the Lionheart, and the Battle that Decided the Third Crusade* (New Haven and London, 2018).

³² See Appendix 1.

³³ Some first-person usages are biblical borrowings; compare Chapter XIV—‘Woe to wretched me, that in the days of my wretched life I am forced to see such things’—to 1 Maccabees 2:7: ‘And Mattathias said, “Woe is me! Wherefore was I born to see the ruin of my people and the ruin of the holy city and to dwell there when it is given into the hands of the enemies?”’

³⁴ For further discussion, see below, pp. 30–1.

³⁵ For discussion of Prutz’s views on this, see below, pp. 13–15.

³⁶ See *Libellus*, c. XX, c. XXI, c. XXIV, c. XXIX.

the other great men of the city, that if fifty strong and brave sergeants were found who, after willingly taking up arms, would guard for that night the corner that had already been demolished, they would receive 5,000 bezants.³⁷

The statement that ‘I myself heard with my own ears’ (*ego siquidem auribus meis audiui*) is emphatic in its triplicate use of the first person. We will show throughout this introduction that there are many reasons to trust the author on this. But even if we accept that he was there, we would hesitate to claim that he was an ‘eyewitness’ to all of the events described in the text, or even necessarily to everything he reports about the siege of Jerusalem.³⁸ As Hans Prutz observed, there are no references to the author in the Galilee sections of the narrative (Chapters II–XIV), which raises the possibility that the author received knowledge of these events at second hand. This, however, does not necessarily make his account unreliable, since many refugees fled south from Galilee to Jerusalem throughout March–September 1187, providing an ample stock of oral reports for a willing ear in Jerusalem.³⁹

Indeed, the following third-person passage from Chapter XXIII may indicate that the author was relying on informants for his knowledge of the ‘front line’ at the siege of Jerusalem, even if he was, as he claims, present in the city: ‘For the face of the one reporting these things was also wounded by an arrow through the middle of the nose, and although the wood was pulled out, the iron has remained to this day.’⁴⁰ ‘The one reporting these things’ (*haec referens*) could refer to the author himself (in reporting to the audience) or an informant (in reporting to the author). Given the author’s emphatic use of the first person in the passage about the herald, it may be

³⁷ See below, pp. 204–5. The patriarch’s offer is also mentioned in the spurious letter of ‘Bishop William’: Reinhold Röhricht (ed.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1874), vol. 1, p. 191.

³⁸ On the problem of the ‘eyewitness’, see Yuval Noah Harari, ‘Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: the *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives’, *Crusades*, vol. 3 (2004), 77–99; Elizabeth Lapina, “‘*Nec signis nec testibus creditur ...*’: the problem of eyewitnesses in the chronicles of the First Crusade”, *Viator*, vol. 38 (2007), pp. 117–139.

³⁹ Prutz, pp. xxviii–xxix. Barber estimates that Jerusalem may have doubled its population due to the influx of refugees: *The Crusader States*, p. 310. Abū l-Fidā’, p. 57 says that there was an ‘innumerable multitude of Christians’ in Jerusalem. Ibn Shaddād and ‘Imād al-Dīn both say that there were at least 60,000 fighting men: Ibn Shaddād, p. 77; ‘Imād al-Dīn cited in Abū Shāmā, p. 326.

⁴⁰ On arrow wounds generally, see Piers Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 155–58; idem, Yossi Nagar, and Ronnie Ellenblum, ‘Weapon Injuries in the 12th Century Crusader Garrison of Vadum Iacob Castle, Galilee’, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, vol. 16 (2006), pp. 145–55: here, p. 150.

prudent to suppose that the man with the iron in his nose was an informant. Prutz favoured this interpretation.⁴¹ However, it is worth pointing out that Edward Grim, who wrote his first-hand account of the murder of Thomas Becket soon after it occurred on 29 December 1170, used similar language to describe the sword-wound he himself received while attempting to protect the archbishop, reporting that Becket was struck on the head and that ‘the arm of the one reporting these things was severed by the same blow’.⁴² That the man with the iron in his nose was our author is perhaps supported by the reference in the *Lyon Eracles* to a procession of priests, monks, and nuns who attempted to stave off the Saracens by petitioning God during the siege of Jerusalem. The *Lyon Eracles* claims that ‘they carried the Holy Cross that belonged to the Syrians [that is, the Greek Orthodox Christians],’ while the priests ‘carried aloft the body of Christ,’ but ‘our Lord did not deign to hear their prayers’.⁴³ The *Lyon Eracles* says that this took place ‘beneath the walls,’ while the author of the *Libellus* writes that he heard the herald’s appeal for soldiers ‘between the great wall and the curtain wall’. Indeed, a large portion of the chapter on the siege (Chapter XXIII) concerns the events at the walls. If our author was a member of a procession like the one described in the *Lyon Eracles*, this would certainly have exposed his nose to arrow wounds even more so than the general danger of being in Jerusalem at the time.

In 1557, the noted bibliophile John Bale identified Ralph of Coggeshall as the author of the *Libellus* without recognising that the text consists of multiple parts.⁴⁴ Bale’s attribution was largely followed until the late nineteenth century, thanks in part to its adoption by Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand in their widely circulated *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*.⁴⁵ In the late nineteenth century, two editions of the *Libellus* appeared independently of each other in very close succession: Joseph Stevenson’s 1875 edition in the Rolls Series, which accompanied his edition of Ralph’s *Chronicon Anglicanum*,

⁴¹ Prutz, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

⁴² In James C. Robertson and Joseph B. Sheppard (eds), *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 vols (London, 1875–1885), vol. 2, p. 437: *eodem ictu praeciso brachio haec referentis*. On Becket’s murder, see Anne J. Duggan, ‘Becket is dead! Long live St Thomas!’, in Paul Webster and Marie-Pierre Gelin (eds), *The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World, c. 1170–c. 1220* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 25–52.

⁴³ *Lyon Eracles*, §54, p. 67 (trans. Edbury, p. 59). On the equation between Syrians and Byzantine Orthodox, see Hamilton, *The Leper King*, p. 49, n. 27.

⁴⁴ See below, p. 98.

⁴⁵ See below, pp. 99–100. The attribution to Ralph of Coggeshall has been repeated even as recently as 1997 in Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), p. 446.

and Prutz's edition of 1876.⁴⁶ Both Stevenson and Prutz were critical of the attribution of the text to Ralph of Coggeshall, as was William Stubbs, who examined the *Libellus* while working on his edition of *IP2*.⁴⁷ Stubbs pointed out Bale's faulty argument that Ralph must have been on pilgrimage to the Holy Land because of his assumed authorship of the *Libellus*; Prutz equally dismissed Bale's view as 'circular reasoning'.⁴⁸ Stubbs took the author to be the man with the iron in his nose.⁴⁹ Stevenson, whose editorial focus was clearly on the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, offered only a superficial treatment of the authorship of the *Libellus*. He argued that the author was well-acquainted with the geography of the Holy Land, an 'eyewitness of much which is here recorded', and possibly connected with the Templars and Hospitallers. He also agreed with Stubbs that the author suffered the aforementioned arrow-wound.⁵⁰ But he failed to note that the *Chronicon Anglicanum*'s discussion of the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem derives, at times verbatim, from the *Libellus* as well as Roger of Howden's *Chronica*.⁵¹ Curiously, Stevenson observed that, at the end of Part I of the *Libellus* in the Cotton manuscript (C), there was a marginal comment consisting of three words, the first of which was illegible, and the second and third of which were '*Ricardus explicit*'.⁵² Inspection of the manuscript both with the naked eye and under ultraviolet light has revealed only a very faint trace of a note in the bottom left-hand margin. The British Library's internal records indicate that the manuscript was not trimmed when it was rebound in 1983.⁵³ Stevenson was a careful editor, and it is unlikely that he fabricated or mis-copied the note; its near-disappearance is therefore extremely unfortunate.

Prutz's discussion of the original authorship of the *Libellus* was more thorough than that of any previous scholar. He claimed to have compared the *Libellus* to Ralph's *Chronicon Anglicanum* and found them stylistically dissimilar.⁵⁴ However, single authors can use different styles when writing for different audiences, purposes, and text types. Because Ralph's theological works

⁴⁶ See below, pp. 103–4.

⁴⁷ Stevenson, p. xviii; Prutz, pp. xix–xxv; Stubbs, in *IP2*, pp. xlii, lv–lviii.

⁴⁸ Prutz, p. xxiii: 'Cirkelbeweis beweist'.

⁴⁹ Stubbs, in *IP2*, p. lvi.

⁵⁰ Stevenson, pp. xviii–xix.

⁵¹ Stevenson, pp. 21–23. For Ralph's borrowings, see Appendix 1.

⁵² Stevenson, p. 251, n. 1: 'Here on the bottom margin of the Cotton MS. [at f. 18r] are written with a style three words, the first is illegible, the second and third are Ricard' explicit.'

⁵³ British Library online catalogue: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Cleopatra_B_I>, accessed 6 June 2018. We are grateful to Claire Wotherspoon of the British Library's Department of Manuscripts for her communications on this issue.

⁵⁴ Prutz, pp. xxiv–xxv.

are no longer extant, comparing them with the *Libellus* has been impossible.⁵⁵ Having said this, it is clear from Ralph's discussion of the famous exegete and apocalypticist Joachim of Fiore that he had an interest in exegetical modes of thought, and was eager to link the recent military successes of Islam to the advent of the Antichrist.⁵⁶ Ralph was far from alone in this.⁵⁷

Prutz proposed that Part I of the *Libellus* represents a learned theologian's reworking of an original historical narrative, now lost, and that the text as it stands is a hodge-podge compilation. He argued that Part I was written 'for the purposes of edification, or even to make it into an epistle urging [people] to the crusade'.⁵⁸ The stylistic differences between Part I, which is spiritual, grief-stricken, and censorious, and the continuation, which is comparatively dispassionate and synoptic, indicate differences in intention between their composers. This may add credence to John Pryor's view, following Prutz, that Part I was an *excitatio*, that is, a text written to excite crusading fervour.⁵⁹ However, even if the *Libellus* belongs to this genre, it is certainly much longer and more exegetical than any of the extant letters that aimed to generate fervour for the Third Crusade.⁶⁰

As evidence for his view that Part I represents a theological reworking of an earlier historical narrative, Prutz introduced three key arguments: (1) the opening of the text bears similarities with letters sent from the Holy Land in 1187, and therefore it represents a significant reworking of one or more contemporary letters; (2) the ending of Part I is incongruous; and (3) the

⁵⁵ On the *Visio Thurkilli*, believed to have been composed by Ralph, see Paul Gerhard Schmidt (ed.), *Visio Thurkilli relatore, ut videtur, Radulpho de Coggeshall* (Leipzig, 1978).

⁵⁶ Ralph, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 67–70. See Christoph Egger, 'A Pope without Successor: Ralph of Coggeshall, Ralph Niger, Robert of Auxerre, and the Early Reception of Joachim of Fiore's Ideas in England', in Julia E. Wannemacher (ed.), *Joachim of Fiore and the Influence of Inspiration: Essays in Memory of Marjorie E. Reeves (1905–2003)* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 145–79.

⁵⁷ Michael Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 216–235; Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 159–87.

⁵⁸ Prutz, p. xxxvii: 'zu erbaulichen Zwecken oder auch geradezu um eine zum Kreuzzug mahrende Epistel daraus zu machen'. Mayer in *IP1*, p. 181 echoes Prutz in writing that Part One was 'made into a piece of propaganda for the crusading movement through the addition of sermonising phrases' ('durch Hinzufügung predigthafter Zusätze ... zu einer Propagandaschrift für die Kreuzzugsbewegung gemacht').

⁵⁹ John Pryor, 'Two *excitationes* for the Third Crusade: the letters of brother Thierry of the Temple', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2010), 147–68, here p. 153.

⁶⁰ Stubbs, *IP2*, p. lvii expressed the view that it was 'not indeed probable that the writer intended the tract merely as such an occasional letter of supplication.'

text presents a variety of internal contradictions. On this basis, he proposed that the *Libellus* is a set of ‘materials strung together only loosely ... which ... ought to have received a polished, formal reworking, but [this] was ultimately not undertaken.’⁶¹ We will consider these arguments in turn.

The opening rhetorical question is followed by a sentence that features the postpositive conjunction *itaque* (‘so’). This led Prutz to argue that the opening of the text as we have it is truncated.⁶² Comparison of the opening of the *Libellus* with other contemporary texts renders this argument unconvincing, because conjunctions such as Latin *itaque*, *autem*, *enim*, and *igitur*, and Old French *mais*, were often used to transition between topics or even to commence discussions. To provide one example, Ailred of Rievaulx’s *Account of [the Battle of] the Standard (Relatio de Standardo)*, composed c. 1154, includes an *igitur* in its opening sentence: ‘So then, after King Stephen had seized the southern regions, the king of the Scots gathered an innumerable army, not only [of] those who had bowed down to his rule, but summoning also a not inconsiderable multitude from the islands and the Orkneys.’⁶³ Here, *igitur* (‘so then’) functions as a call to attention, not as a link between cause and effect.

While Prutz’s conclusions in this respect are unconvincing, he was right to observe, following Stubbs, that the *Libellus* has strong parallels with letters sent in 1187 from the Holy Land to Europe to announce the fall of Jerusalem.⁶⁴ The *Libellus* commences as follows: ‘Who is able to make known to Your Excellency without grief and an effusion of tears under what great burdens and calamities the Eastern Church has been oppressed and crushed by the pagans?’⁶⁵ The letter sent from Tyre in August 1187 by Thierry, preceptor of the Knights Templar, to Pope Urban III, commences in a similar way:

On account of [our] grief, we do not have the strength to explain either in letters or with a tearful voice by how many and how great

⁶¹ Prutz, p. xxxiii: ‘einer Sammlung nur locker aneinandergereihter Materialien ... welche ... einer glättenden, formellen Uebearbeitung unterzogen werden sollte, schliesslich aber nicht unterzogen worden ist.’

⁶² Prutz, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

⁶³ Ailred of Rievaulx, *Relatio de Standardo*, ed. R. Howlett, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, 4 vols (London, 1884–1890), vol. 3, p. 181: *Rege igitur Stephano circa australes partes occupato, rex Scottorum innumerabilem coegit exercitum, non solum eos, qui ejus subjacebant imperio, sed et de insularis et Orchadensibus non parvam multitudinem accersiens*. On the *Relatio*, see Elizabeth Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150–1220*, *Medieval Church Studies 2* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 31–53.

⁶⁴ Prutz, pp. xxvi–xxvii; Stubbs, pp. lvi–lvii.

⁶⁵ *Libellus*, c. I: *Quantis pressuris et calamitatibus oppressa sit et contrita orientalis ecclesia a paganis, sine dolore et effusione lacrimarum uestre excellentie quis intimare potest?*

calamities we are struck and oppressed at present by the anger of God, our sins driving it.⁶⁶

Dum attendimus, a letter from Pope Urban III to Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 3 September 1187, begins similarly:

An enormous grief bears down on our mind when we consider how many calamities and burdens the Eastern Church is so ceaselessly subjected to, and how the wicked race of the pagans strives for its destruction with all its strength.⁶⁷

Aimery of Limoges, Patriarch of Antioch, sent a letter to Henry II in late 1187 requesting military assistance. It commences:

With tears and sighs, we announce to Your Excellency through these present [messages] our very fitting and inestimable grief on account of the unexpected and terrible misfortune that has recently befallen us [and] almost all of Christendom.⁶⁸

But this phraseology, which Michael Staunton has aptly called ‘the convention of inexpressibility’, was very common in crusader writing.⁶⁹ For example, more than two decades prior, Pope Alexander III opened his bull of 29 June 1166, titled *In quantis pressuris*, with a similar lamentation:

Even with our silence, all of you are not unaware of how many burdens, tribulations, and griefs the land of the east is placed under, and also

⁶⁶ John Pryor (ed.), in ‘Two *excitationes*’, p. 148: *Quot quantisque calamitatibus ira Dei, peccatis nostris exigentibus, perculti inpresentiarum, opprimamur, nec litteris nec flebili voce, pro dolor, explicare valemus. Turci enim, immensam suarum gentium multitudinem congregantes*. Pryor also prints a slightly different textual variant.

⁶⁷ The text is preserved in Gerald of Wales’ *De principis instructione*, in J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner (eds), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 vols (London, 1861–1891), vol. 8, II.xxiii, p. 201: *Dum attendimus quot calamitatibus et pressuris orientalis ecclesia sic indesinenter exposita [sit] et quomodo ad exterminium ejus gens impia paganorum totis viribus elaboret, menti nostrae dolor ingens se ingerit*.

⁶⁸ Given in Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 340: *Condignum et inaestimabilem dolorem nostrum, pro insperato et terribili, quod nobis, immo toti Christianitati, nuper accidit, infortunio, cum lacrymis et singultibus excellentiae vestrae per haec praesentia denunciamus*.

⁶⁹ Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, p. 221.

how many afflictions and miseries it endlessly sustains from the enemies of the Holy Cross, with our sins driving it.⁷⁰

Even Baldric of Bourgueil's description of Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont on 27 November 1095, which ostensibly initiated the First Crusade, bears some similarities with the opening of the *Libellus*:

We have heard, dearest brothers (and so have you), something that we are in no way able to call to mind again without profound sighs: under what great calamities, what great misfortunes, [and] by what terrible griefs our Christians, our brothers, members of Christ, are whipped, oppressed, and wronged in Jerusalem, Antioch, and other cities of the eastern region.⁷¹

Prutz is therefore correct in arguing that the opening forms part of a larger vocabulary of perceived oppression of the Holy Land; but this does not prove that the text is a hodge-podge compilation.

A number of apparent internal inconsistencies also led Prutz to the conclusion that Part I of the *Libellus* was compiled imperfectly from multiple sources. For example, King Guy is described as 'our king' (*rex noster*) in Chapter X, but Chapter XIII refers to the '*pullani*', an exonym generally applied by Europeans to Franks born in the Levant.⁷² The first implies the author was a native of the Kingdom; the second suggests the opposite. Although it is possible that a European author could refer to a king of Jerusalem as 'our king' in the sense that western Europe and Outremer shared cultural roots and were regarded as part of a common heritage, the author's presence in Jerusalem and his minute knowledge of Holy Land geography may seem to suggest that he was a native of Outremer. On the other hand, there is no evidence elsewhere of

⁷⁰ Alexander III, *In quantis pressuris* (29 June 1166), in Rudolf Hiestand (ed.), *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Archivberichte und Texte*, Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius I [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge 77] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), pp. 251–53 [n° 53], here p. 251: *In quantis pressuris, tribulationibus et angustiis terra orientalis sit constituta, quantas etiam afflictiones et miserias iugiter ab inimicis sancte crucis exigentibus peccatis nostris sustineat, nobis etiam reticentibus uestra uniuersitas non ignorat....*

⁷¹ Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. Steven Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014), p. 6: *Audiuimus, fratres dilectissimi, et audistis, quod sine profundis singultibus retractare nequaquam possumus, quantis calamitatibus, quantis incommoditatibus, quam diris contritionibus, in Ierusalem et in Antiochia et in ceteris orientalis plage ciuitatibus, Christiani nostri, fratres nostri, membra Christi, flagellantur, opprimuntur, iniuriuntur....*

⁷² On the term '*pullanus*', see Margaret Ruth Morgan, 'The Meanings of Old French *polain*, Latin *pullanus*', *Medium Ævum*, vol. 48 (1979), pp. 40–54.

Latin Christians born in the East referring to their fellow natives as ‘*pullani*’. If anything, the term seems to have acquired faintly derogatory connotations in the minds of foreigners. According to a well-known (and tendentious) story in the Lyon *Eracles*, when Guy was crowned, his supporters derided his native opponents by singing: ‘In spite of the *polein*, we shall have a king [who is] Poitevin.’ (*Maugré li Polein! Avrons nous roi poitevin.*)⁷³ This verse supposedly ‘incensed the men of the kingdom ... and gave rise to the loss of the kingdom of Jerusalem’.⁷⁴ Taken together, the terms ‘our king’ and ‘*pullani*’ may shed very little light on the author himself, but they certainly do not indicate a composite origin for Part I of the *Libellus*.

To Prutz’s mind, the feature most detrimental to the narrative coherence of the text was the inclusion of frequent and often expansive exegetical glosses on the key people, places, and events. For example, in Chapter XXII, there are long digressions between the phrases ‘The sons of Babylon took the road through the mountains as far as Jerusalem ...’, ‘others hasten[ed] to the holy Mount Shiloh ...’, ‘others raz[ed] Bethany ...’, and ‘others [laid] waste the most holy Mount of Olives ...’. In the intervening passages, the text delves into the spiritual significance of the holy places sacked by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in a manner that, in Prutz’s view, suggested that the spiritual excurses had been interpolated into an earlier prototype narrative that was more straightforwardly historical in tone. However, these passages contain obscure information that is unlikely to have been widely known in Europe, such as the visual description of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary of Josaphat, or the existence of a community of Premonstratensian canons of St Samuel at Mount Shiloh (Nabi Samwil). Few other sources from Europe or the Latin East mention the latter settlement at all.⁷⁵ Moreover, other writers were perfectly capable of waxing lyrical about recent historical events. One example is the Arabic writer ‘Imād al-Dīn, who frequently interrupts his own narrative of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s conquest with turgid lyricism complimenting the swords of the Muslims or the beauty of the Christian women they captured.⁷⁶ Although our author comes from a different tradition and has a different narrative purpose, the point here is that excurses—and exegesis more broadly—do not prove multiple authorship or textual tampering.

Many of Prutz’s subsidiary points therefore cannot stand. But his larger argument does not reflect the totality of the text, either. Part I displays narrative cohesion through its consistent focus on the destruction of significant Christian holy sites. Other sources, both Arabic and Western, generally consider the conquest of each location according to its size and political or military significance, while skipping over smaller places of religious significance.

⁷³ Lyon *Eracles*, §41, p. 53.

⁷⁴ Lyon *Eracles*, §41, p. 53 (trans. Edbury, p. 46).

⁷⁵ See below, pp. 44–7.

⁷⁶ ‘Imād al-Dīn, pp. 12–58.

The *Libellus* does the opposite: for example, it merely lists the conquests of Beirut, Jubail, Sidon, and La Fève, and ignores important settlements such as Tibnīn (Toron) in the north, while foregrounding smaller settlements of religious significance, such as the Mount of Temptation, Şarafand, and the Lord's Leap.⁷⁷ It is more likely that the text had its spiritual focus from the outset than that it formerly contained details about every single place conquered before somebody culled those places without religious significance.

The author interweaves complex biblical allusions with the first-person narrative voice, which further weakens Prutz's argument. For example, after the capitulation of Jerusalem, the author laments: 'Woe to me, wretched and worse than all sinners, that I did not take up my portion of the Holy Land with such a measuring line [Zechariah 2:1–2].'⁷⁸ Moreover, the author uses biblical allusions to compliment and criticise specific individuals within the Kingdom of Jerusalem and its ecclesiastical hierarchy. At the council of the barons at Şaffūriyah on 2 July 1187, Raymond of Tripoli advises that the armies should stay near their water sources instead of marching east to challenge Şalāḥ al-Dīn, but Raymond is accused of 'hiding in the skin of a wolf', that is, of being a traitor. Our author writes that Raymond 'was speaking the truth', while accusing King Guy and Raymond's other detractors of juvenile foolishness through reference to Ecclesiastes 10:16: 'Therefore, that which is said in *Wisdom* is fulfilled in them: "Woe to the land whose king is a child and whose people eat in the morning!"'⁷⁹ The pronoun 'them' is important, as it shows that the author is not criticising Guy alone. Although Raymond's other detractors are unnamed in the *Libellus*, in the Old French texts they are Gerard de Ridefort and, by association, Reynald de Châtillon.⁸⁰ In hindsight, the author blames the loss of the Kingdom on their poor decision prior to Ḥaṭṭīn:

Our juvenile king followed juvenile counsel, and the people, eating the flesh of their neighbours in jealousy and in hatred, abandoned the counsel of their own and the others' salvation, and in their unwisdom and foolishness they destroyed the land, the host, and themselves.⁸¹

⁷⁷ See **Gazetteer**. On the conquest of Tibnīn, see 'Imād al-Dīn, pp. 37–9.

⁷⁸ *Libellus*, c. XXIII: *Ve mihi misero omnibusque peccatoribus deteriori quod portionem meam terre sancte, tali funiculo mensurationis non accepi*. This complex allusion is explained in detail below, pp. 58–9.

⁷⁹ *Libellus*, c. X: *Impletum est ergo in eis quod per Sapientem dicitur: 'Ve terre cuius rex iuuenis est et ciues mane comedunt.'*

⁸⁰ *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIII, pp. 158–60. For a full discussion, see James Kane, 'Wolf's hair, exposed digits, and Muslim holy men: the *Libellus de expugnatione terrae sanctae per Saladinum* and the *conte* of Ernoul', *Viator*, vol. 47, no. 2 (2016), 95–112, here p. 95.

⁸¹ *Libellus*, c. X: *Rex autem noster iuuenis iuuenile secutus consilium et ciues inuidia et odio carnem proximorum comedentes consilium sue salutis et ceterorum reliquerunt, et in insipientia et fatuitate sua terram et populum et seipsos perdiderunt*.

In addition, in Chapter XVIII the Muslims, in searching for treasure at Sebaste, whip its bishop, Ralph, who is described as a ‘rather gentle and virtuous man’ and whom the Saracens send naked to Acre after accessing the church’s treasure. Arabic sources confirm the search for treasure but are silent on the brutality inflicted on the bishop.⁸² More to the point, the author’s commendation of Ralph, vague though it is, suggests that they were acquainted in some way. It is noteworthy that Balian of Ibelin and his squire Ernoul met the bishop of Sebaste on 1 May 1187, after which they rode to La Fève and learnt of the Battle of Cresson. The Old French sources report that Balian stopped over at Sebaste on his ride northward from Nablus to Nazareth to follow the Masters of the Temple and Hospital in their mission to negotiate peace with Raymond on behalf of Guy. Balian’s arrival at Sebaste awoke Ralph in the middle of the night, and they stayed up talking until sunrise, after which the bishop had his chaplain sing Mass.⁸³ As it turned out, this timely meeting saved both Balian and Ernoul from the carnage of Cresson.

Probably the most important example of biblical allusion fusing with personal censure occurs when Patriarch Eraclius is requested to bring the Holy Cross to the army prior to Ḥaṭṭīn. Instead, he transfers custodianship of the relic to Bishop Rufinus of Acre, who is killed, and Bishop Bernard of Lydda, who is captured. The author then alludes to the story of Eli of Shiloh in order to criticise all three of them:

And since he [Eraclius] had long since lost the light of the eyes of [his] heart, just as Eli of Shiloh [lost his sight and] his sons, Hophni and Phineas, he accordingly appointed the bishop of the church of Lydda and the bishop of Acre to be the bearers and custodians of the Lord’s Cross, hoping that, if everybody were captured or killed, a way of escape would open up for him—but by the will of God, he fell backwards from the seat that he had possessed (perhaps unworthily).⁸⁴

In 1 Kings 1–3, Eli is the high priest of Shiloh, while his sons, Hophni and Phineas, are described as priests ‘not knowing the Lord’ (2:11). They steal meat from the sacrifices left for God (2:12–17) and commit adultery with the women waiting at the door of the tabernacle (2:22). Eli rebukes them, but

⁸² ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 35; Abū Shāma, p. 302.

⁸³ *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XII, p. 148; Lyon *Eracles* §27, p. 40 (trans. Edbury, pp. 33–4); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xxviii (p. 42).

⁸⁴ *Libellus*, c. VIII: *Et quoniam lumen oculorum cordis iam dudum amiserat, sicut Ely Silonites Ofhny et Finees filios suos, scilicet episcopum Liddensis ecclesie, et episcopum Accon constituit ut essent portitores dominice crucis, et custodes, sperans omnibus captis uel interfectis sibi aditum patere euadendi, sed uoluntate dei cecidit retro de sella quam fortasse indignus possederat.*

they do not heed him (2:23–5). A man of God then prophesies the destruction of Eli and his house (2:27–36). The Philistines invade, and Hophni and Phineas carry the Ark of the Covenant—equivalent to the Lord’s Cross at Ḥaṭṭīn—into battle, but they are killed and the Ark is captured (4:1–11).⁸⁵ Eli, now blind at the age of 98, falls back from his chair and dies upon hearing of the capture of the Ark and the death of his sons (4:12–18). Although the author of the *Libellus* chooses his words carefully, the criticism of the patriarch is clear, while he also perhaps implicitly censures Bernard and Rufinus by equating them with the lecherous Hophni and Phineas. It is unclear whether Eraclius’ ‘falling backwards from the seat’ indicates that our author was aware of the patriarch’s death at the siege of Acre in 1190.⁸⁶ Whatever its precise meaning, the claim that the highest clergyman in the land occupied his position ‘perhaps unworthily’ and then fell backwards ‘by the will of God’ is a pointed criticism indeed.

This phrase may well be an oblique reference to rumours regarding Eraclius’ sexual conduct, as recorded in the Old French texts, sources which are openly hostile to Eraclius. These include rumours of a relationship with Agnes of Courtenay († 1184), mother of Baldwin IV and Sibylla, and an affair and illegitimate daughter with one Pasque di Riveri, the wife of a merchant from Nablus.⁸⁷ Indeed, *Ernoul-Bernard* says that he wished to absent himself from Ḥaṭṭīn ‘because he was occupied and could not go, because it was a difficult thing for him to go into the army and to leave behind Lady Pasque de Riveri’.⁸⁸ Eraclius was known in Europe, and his mission of 1184–1185 is well attested (particularly by English historians), but criticisms of his sexual

⁸⁵ Comparisons between the Cross and the Ark of the Covenant were relatively common in sources that describe 1187. See Penny Cole, “O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance” (Ps. 78.1): the theme of religious pollution in crusade documents, 1095–1188’, in Shatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims*, pp. 84–111, here pp. 106–7.

⁸⁶ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 87. The author’s allusion to the downfall of Eraclius could be a veiled allusion to the prophecy, allegedly discovered and pronounced by William of Tyre, that just as the relic of the True Cross had been recovered from Persia in the seventh century by the Emperor Heraklios, it would be lost again in the time of Patriarch Eraclius when he brought it out of Jerusalem: see *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIII, p. 156; Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xxix (p. 46) and XXIII.xxxviii (p. 58); Lyon *Eracles* §§ 28, 37, pp. 42–3, 49–50 (trans. Edbury, pp. 35–6, 42–3). See also Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 20–2.

⁸⁷ Kedar, ‘The Patriarch Eraclius’, pp. 178–80. The allegations are made in Lyon *Eracles*, §§38–9, pp. 50–1 (trans. Edbury, pp. 43–5).

⁸⁸ *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIII, p. 156; *car il estoit ensouniés se n’i pooit aler, car griés cose li estoit d’aler en ost et laisser dame Paske de Riveri*. The allegations are also in both the Colbert-Fontainebleau and Lyon *Eracles*: see above, n. 86. Kedar, ‘The Patriarch Eraclius’, p. 183 points out that clerical sexuality was the subject of active debate in the twelfth century.

conduct appear only in the Old French tradition, which have the account of Balian's squire Ernoul as their basis, and which relate to the *Libellus*, as will be discussed below.

The careers of Bernard of Lydda and Rufinus of Acre are known only in patches. When Eraclius journeyed to Europe, Bernard was nominated as his vicar, which suggests that he was an ally of Eraclius.⁸⁹ Eraclius also mediated a dispute between Bernard and Peter, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, in 1169, and in other cases he worked with Bernard to resolve disputes, such as in c. 1170, when Gilbert d'Assailly, Master of the Hospitallers, attempted to retire to a cave, but Eraclius would not let him.⁹⁰ Little is known of Rufinus, beyond the fact that he was Bishop of Acre, a position he was presumably elevated to after the death of the great historian William of Tyre († c. 1186), when Joscius was promoted to the archbishopric of Tyre, leaving his previous bishopric of Acre vacant.⁹¹ It is noteworthy that our author does not explicitly lament Rufinus's death or Bernard's capture at Ḥaṭṭīn, whereas he grieves at length over the martyrdom of Roger des Moulins and the capture of the True Cross.⁹² Eraclius allegedly had a personal vendetta against William of Tyre, which resulted in a reduction of his episcopal lands, his excommunication, and, according to the Lyon *Eraclius*, his poisoning by Eraclius, though the latter is extremely unlikely.⁹³ Whatever its precise nature, Eraclius' treatment of William reveals the power he wielded in the Kingdom. His punishment of detractors incentivised criticising him only in coded terms, as is perhaps the case in our author's seemingly disparaging introduction of Eraclius as 'the prince, namely [the prince] of the priests (*princeps sacerdotum*)'.⁹⁴ The title '*princeps sacerdotum*' is used in Acts 5:17–18 to refer to a high priest of the Sadducees who imprisoned the Apostles, and in Matthew 26:62–5 in reference to a high priest who denied Jesus' divinity and accused him of blasphemy. Moreover, William of Tyre was, like our author, a supporter of Raymond of Tripoli, which suggests that he and our author had a mutual sense of partisanship.⁹⁵ Along with the other

⁸⁹ Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius', p. 182.

⁹⁰ RRRH n° 875; Jochen Burgdorf, *The central convent of Hospitallers and Templars: history, organisation, and personnel, 1099/1120–1310* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 65–73.

⁹¹ On the date of William's death, which remains uncertain, see Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p. 33, esp. n. 33.

⁹² An eighteenth-century French historian claimed that Rufinus and Bernard were themselves illegitimate sons of Eraclius, but this is merely a salacious misreading of the passage about Eli of Shiloh quoted above: François Louis Claude Marin, *Histoire de Saladin* (Paris, 1758), vol. 2, p. 5; cited in Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius', p. 199, n. 76.

⁹³ Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius', pp. 179–80; Lyon *Eraclius* §39, pp. 51–2 (trans. Edbury, pp. 44–5).

⁹⁴ *Libellus*, c. I.

⁹⁵ Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 18–21.

instances discussed above, the passage referring to Eli of Shiloh therefore hints strongly that that our author was connected in some way with the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. His tight interweaving of biblical allusions with the politics of the Kingdom also casts doubt on Prutz's view that Part I is an exegetical reworking of an earlier, bare-bones historical narrative. In short, the exegesis runs deeper than Prutz realised.

No scholar since Prutz has made as concerted an effort to unpack the problem of the authorship of the *Libellus*. A few passing claims have been made, most of which are unconvincing. In the late nineteenth century, Ä. R. Kindt proposed that the author was Richard de Templo, but this was presumably a misreading of Part II's exhortation to seek further information in the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*.⁹⁶ Joshua Praver and Bernard Hamilton believed that the author was a knight.⁹⁷ Marianne Ailes, Malcolm Barber, and Alan Murray claimed that he may have been English—'almost certainly', wrote Steven Runciman—yet the reasoning behind this view is unclear.⁹⁸ Hamilton broadened 'English' to 'Angevin'.⁹⁹ Helen Nicholson wrote that the text 'purports to have been written by a warrior'.¹⁰⁰ Runciman claimed that the author 'shows admiration for the Military Orders' and is 'tactfully silent' on their 'misdeeds'.¹⁰¹ Ailes and Barber, and later James Willoughby, proposed that the author may have been a Templar.¹⁰² Willoughby suggested that Cressing Temple, a Templar establishment roughly 6 km south-west of Coggeshall, was a 'plausible place of origin' or possible conduit through which Ralph may have received a copy of the text.¹⁰³

The reference to the man with the arrow in his nose is no proof that the author was a warrior. After all, warriors do not have a monopoly on wounds. To assume that the author was a knight is tantamount to agreement with Prutz that the text has received a significant theological redaction. It is overwhelmingly unlikely that a knight would have possessed the depth of exegetical skill that is on display in the *Libellus*. However, it is probable that the

⁹⁶ Ä. R. Kindt, 'Gründe der Gefangenschaft Richards I. von England nebst Anmerkungen zu einigen englischen Quellenschriften des Mittelalters', unpublished doctoral dissertation (Friedrichs-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Halle, 1892), p. [56] ('These 3').

⁹⁷ Joshua Praver, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), p. 485; Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 11–12.

⁹⁸ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1952), vol. 2, p. 478; Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, in Ambrose, vol. 2, p. 17; Alan Murray, 'Libellus de Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum', in Murray (ed.), *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, 4 vols (Santa Barbara, 2006), vol. 3, p. 725.

⁹⁹ Hamilton, *The Leper King*, pp. 11–12.

¹⁰⁰ *IP2*, trans. Nicholson, p. 4.

¹⁰¹ Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 2, p. 478.

¹⁰² Ailes and Barber, in Ambrose, *Estoire*, vol. 2, p. 17; Willoughby, 'Templar chronicle'.

¹⁰³ Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle', p. 126.

author was in contact with many knights, including members of the military orders, in the chaos of the siege of Jerusalem and perhaps also thereafter in Tyre, where most of those who were ransomed at Jerusalem were sent in October 1187.¹⁰⁴ There is little evidence, however, that the author himself was a Templar or Hospitaller. In addition, since the author balances his portrayal of both orders, the suggestion that he has a pro-Templar bias is inaccurate. Although he mentions the Master of the Temple a few times, he never provides his name (Gerard de Ridefort). Our author is relatively forgiving of Raymond, which reduces the likelihood that he was a Templar, because Raymond and Gerard had a long-standing mutual disdain.¹⁰⁵ As we have seen, prior to Ḥaṭṭīn, our author even blames Raymond's detractors, primarily Gerard in the Old French texts, for nothing less than the loss of the Kingdom, saying that 'they destroyed the land, the host, and themselves' (*terram et populum et seipsos perdidierunt*).¹⁰⁶ In Chapter III, Gerard delivers a speech to rouse the Christians prior to the Battle of Cresson. The speech proposes that a small army can be successful if their faith is strong. Its message and imagery closely echo the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux's *In praise of the new knight-hood* (*De laude novae militiae*), a treatise written in the 1120s or 30s to honour the Templars. However, both the *Libellus* and Bernard are drawing from the Book of Maccabees here.¹⁰⁷ If this is a direct link to Bernard's treatise, it may suggest a Cistercian connection for our author rather than a Templar one. Moreover, our author appears to prefer a separation of military and ecclesiastical roles. At the siege of Jerusalem, he laments that clergymen were compelled to take up arms due to the dearth of soldiers: 'Who would not burst into tears out of pity for such great grief when he saw over here monks and canons, priests and deacons, hermits and anchorites weakened by old age, marching in armour and carrying weapons?'¹⁰⁸ If the *Libellus* were indeed written by a Templar or Hospitaller, it would be quite remarkable. Although letters and charters written by Templars survive, no substantial narrative written by a Templar is known to us, and certainly literary output was not their primary function.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the literacy of the Templars was patchy at best in this period, and they often employed clerics as scribes.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ See below, pp. 96–7.

¹⁰⁵ Lewis, *Counts of Tripoli*, pp. 249–52.

¹⁰⁶ *Libellus*, c. X; see also Kane, 'Wolf's Hair', pp. 95–104.

¹⁰⁷ See below, pp. 51–2.

¹⁰⁸ *Libellus*, c. XXIII.

¹⁰⁹ Even the fourteenth-century chronicle known as the *Templar of Tyre* is not thought to have been written by a Templar; the title is a misnomer. See Paul Crawford (trans.), *Templar of Tyre: The Deeds of the Cypriots* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 2–3.

¹¹⁰ Alan Forey, 'Literacy and learning in the military orders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in Helen Nicholson (ed.), *The Military Orders*, vol. 2 (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 185–206.

Willoughby's claim that the *Libellus* may have come to Coggeshall via Cressing Temple in Essex is an interesting suggestion, though necessarily unprovable. Whatever the case, it seems highly unlikely that Cressing was the site of the *Libellus*' composition. Although charters from Cressing Temple have survived, showing that it had the capacity to produce written work, the site must have been much less developed in comparison to a full monastic scriptorium like that of the nearby Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall.¹¹¹ Certainly, Cressing is unlikely to have possessed a library significant enough for one of the Templars there to have developed the level of theological and exegetical learning on display in the text. Of course, Cressing need not even come into the equation unless Willoughby's hypothesis that the author was a Templar is indeed correct.

If suggestions of Templar authorship of the text are doubtful, there is even less evidence that the author was English. A related question is whether the author was born in Europe or Outremer. Although this cannot be answered with certainty, his precise geographical knowledge suggests at the very least that he had spent considerable time in the East. He refers with perfect accuracy to obscure locations such as Til, the Lord's Leap, and Şarafand, and he had sufficient knowledge to distinguish the two locations known as Bethany. He also mentions Cavan, which only appears elsewhere in the *Historia* of William of Tyre.¹¹² In Chapter XXIII, he refers to the 'Sepulchre of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ' (*sepulcrum resurrectionis Ihesu Christi*), a local name for what Europeans tended to call the 'Church of the Sepulchre of the Lord', as Sylvia Schein has noted.¹¹³ He also distinguishes Mount Shiloh (Nabi Samwil) from Montjoie de Jerusalem, two locations that had become conflated by the thirteenth century. Benjamin Kedar has shown that Montjoie (*Mons Gaudii* or 'the Mount of Joy', 'Mount Joy') was a term used by pilgrims to denote any place from which they first saw their destination. There are Montjoies near Compostela and Rome, too. The identification of Jerusalem's Montjoie depends upon which road a medieval pilgrim took. Those who took the maritime road (*via maritima*) from the west first saw Jerusalem from Mount Shiloh, while those who took the high road (*via superior*) through the northern mountains first saw Jerusalem from

¹¹¹ Michael Gervers, *The Hospitaller Cartulary in the British Library (Cotton MS Nero E VI)* (Toronto, 1981), describes the surviving charters of Cressing, which are primarily fifteenth-century in date, with a small number of surviving twelfth-century charters. Gervers notes that a peasant insurrection on 10 June 1381 resulted in the burning of 'books to the value of 20 marks' (p. 45).

¹¹² See **Gazetteer**.

¹¹³ *Libellus*, c. XXIII. Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, pp. 72–3. William of Tyre refers to the Holy Sepulchre alternately as 'the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre' and 'the Church of the Lord's Resurrection' or 'the Holy Resurrection': see William of Tyre, p. 1112, for full references.

Mount Skopus or another hill nearby. Our author clearly refers to the latter site, which is in line with the usage within the twelfth-century Kingdom of Jerusalem.¹¹⁴ What complicates this is that *IP2*, written on the basis of European testimony, refers to a similar location for Montjoie: ‘Coming over the mountains, we reached Mount Joy, from where we saw the city of Jerusalem at a distance ... From there we could also see the Mount of Olives.’¹¹⁵ Taken as a whole, however, our author’s geographical knowledge demonstrates that he was very familiar with the Holy Land and leaves open the possibility that he may have been born there.

Despite the lack of evidence that the author of Part I was English, the addition of the continuation (Parts II and III) by Ralph of Coggeshall or someone in close association with him rests on much firmer grounds. An examination of Ralph’s entry for 1187 in the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, provided in Appendix 1 to this book, reveals that Ralph made use of a version of Roger of Howden’s *Chronica* and the *Libellus*. Moreover, the addition of the continuation is reminiscent of the methods applied in the *Chronicon Anglicanum* itself, which borrows from a variety of written and oral sources, including returning crusaders.¹¹⁶ Willoughby drew attention to Part II’s description of Ralph of Hauterive, archdeacon of Colchester in Essex, who did ‘many notable things’ at the siege of Acre and ‘closed his final day with a fine end’ (*fine felici diem clausit extremum*).¹¹⁷ Although this laudatory remark stems ultimately from *IP2*, its inclusion in Part II may speak to a desire on the part of the continuator to focus on the achievements of crusaders from Essex.

Other evidence hints even more strongly at the involvement of the monks of Coggeshall in the addition of Parts II and III and marginal comments on Part I. The second sentence of the *Libellus* reads: ‘So, after King Baldwin the boy, the seventh (or more correctly, the eighth) king of the Latins, had gone

¹¹⁴ Benjamin Kedar, ‘Jerusalem’s Two *Montes Gaudii*’, in Micaela Sinibaldi, Kevin Lewis, Balázs Major, and Jennifer Thompson (eds), *Crusader Landscapes in the Medieval Levant: The Archaeology and History of the Latin East* (Cardiff, 2016), pp. 3–19, here pp. 9–12.

¹¹⁵ *IP2*, p. 435 (trans. Nicholson, p. 376); see also Ambroise, *Estoire*, ll. 12013–30. In contrast, the Lyon *Eraclès*, §132, p. 135 (trans. Edbury, p. 111) equates Montjoie with St Samuel.

¹¹⁶ Ralph of Coggeshall obtained information on the Third Crusade from at least two returning crusaders: Hugh de Neville and Anselm, the chaplain of Richard I (see *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 45, 54). For more on Ralph’s involvement in Parts II and III, see below, pp. 63–7, 72–6. See also Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order*, pp. 179–213; Guy N. Hartcher, ‘Ralph of Coggeshall’s *Chronicon Anglicanum*: An Investigative Analysis’, unpublished PhD dissertation (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1979), pp. 104–89; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550–c. 1307* (London, 1974), pp. 322–32.

¹¹⁷ *Libellus*, c. XXVII.

the way of all flesh, the lords of Jerusalem assembled, but not as one.¹¹⁸ The phrase ‘or more correctly, the eighth’ is written in the margin of manuscript C, the earliest exemplar. The scribe who added this—perhaps identical with the main scribe—evidently believed that Baldwin I’s brother, Godfrey of Bouillon († 1100), was the first king of Jerusalem, even though he never wore a crown or styled himself ‘king of Jerusalem’. Strictly speaking, Godfrey’s brother, Baldwin I (r. 1100–1118), was the first Latin king of Jerusalem.¹¹⁹ However, the entry for 1099 in the *Chronicon Anglicanum* states that ‘Duke Godfrey was elected king by the whole army [of the First Crusade].’¹²⁰ This may explain the marginal addition in manuscript C of the *Libellus*, which was made in the Coggeshall scriptorium.

Palaeographical evidence proves that somebody in Ralph’s acquaintance was responsible for transcribing Parts II and III. Willoughby argued convincingly that two of the manuscripts (A and V), which both accompany copies of the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, and the earliest manuscript (C), which lacks it, were all produced at Coggeshall around the time Ralph was compiling the *Chronicon*.¹²¹ More to the point, the hand of Parts II and III of the *Libellus* in manuscript C (fols 18v to 23r) also appears in the entry for 1205 in the ‘autograph’ manuscript of the *Chronicon Anglicanum*.¹²² The hand of the continuation belonged to somebody working among the monks of Coggeshall, since it appears in two of their manuscripts and follows the codicological and palaeographical conventions of the Coggeshall scriptorium.¹²³ Moreover, the marginal hands annotate Part I, which shows that it warranted interpretation, probably because the monks found its contents unfamiliar at certain points. In one case, a contemporary marginal hand even gives an erroneous note on the text of Part I.¹²⁴ However, there are very few annotations on Parts II and III, which may indicate that they were composed at Coggeshall.

Willoughby has also drawn attention to certain verbal parallels between the allusion to *IP2* at the end of Part II and similar references in the *Chronicon Anglicanum*.¹²⁵ For example, upon concluding his account of the

¹¹⁸ *Libellus*, c. I: *Ingresso itaque uiam uniuerse carnis rege Baldewino puero latinorum rege septimo, immo octauo, conuenerunt seniores Ierusalem simul, sed non in unum.*

¹¹⁹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, ‘The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon’, *Historical Research*, vol. 52 (1979), pp. 83–6; Simon John, *Godfrey of Bouillon: Duke of Lower Lotharingia, Ruler of Latin Jerusalem, c. 1060–1100* (London, 2018), pp. 178–218.

¹²⁰ Ralph, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 4: *dux Godefridus ab omni exercitu in regem est electus.*

¹²¹ Willoughby, ‘A Templar chronicle’.

¹²² Cotton Vespasian D. X, fols 110r–111v. For further discussion, see below, pp. 69–79.

¹²³ See below, pp. 67–81.

¹²⁴ See below, pp. 74–5.

¹²⁵ Willoughby, ‘A Templar chronicle’, p. 128.

visions experienced by a certain monk of Eynsham, recorded between the annals for 1196 and 1197, Ralph wrote:

But whoever wishes [to know] more fully the manner and order of these visions, as well as the kind of punishments [endured] in accordance with the kind of crimes [committed], and the identity, deeds, and dress of the powerful people, and the diverse dwellings of the saints, let him read the little book in which the aforesaid visions have been carefully written down, and let him find immediately in the things he sees [there] a great incentive for fear [of God].¹²⁶

Just prior to this, in describing how the monk in question reported his visions, Ralph had emphasised the ‘very clear and elegant style’ (*praeclaro atque eleganti stylo*) in which the report of these visions was written down.¹²⁷ This phrasing is remarkably similar to the exhortation at the end of Part II of the *Libellus*:

If anyone desires to know more about the course of their journey, and what they did on the journey, or how they captured Acre, and what great battles they fought in that land against Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, or for what reason King Philip returned home, let him read the book that the lord prior of Holy Trinity, London had translated from the French tongue into Latin in a style as elegant as [it is] truthful (*tam eleganti quam ueraci stilo*).¹²⁸

These similarities led Willoughby to make the plausible case that the continuator of Part I of the *Libellus* was none other than Ralph of Coggeshall himself.¹²⁹ Further echoes of these passages in the *Chronicon Anglicanum* occur in the annal for 1204, at the end of Ralph’s account of the Fourth Crusade:

If anyone wishes to know more fully how the city of Constantinople was captured once and then a second time by the army of Latins travelling to Jerusalem, and how the count of Flanders was made emperor,

¹²⁶ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 71–2: *Sed quisquis modum et ordinem visionum istarum, necnon et qualitatem tormentorum pro qualitate criminum, et personarum potentium cognitionem, gestum, et habitum, atque diversas mansiones beatorum plenius desiderat, legat libellum in quo praedictae visiones diligenter exaratae sunt, et magnum divini timoris incitamentum ex inspectis profecto reperiet.*

¹²⁷ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 72.

¹²⁸ *Libellus*, c. XXVII: *quorum seriem itineris et que in itinere gesserint, seu qualiter Achon ceperint et quanta prelia in terra illa contra Salahadinum commiserint, seu ex qua occasione rex Philippus repatriauerit, si quis plenius nosse desiderat, legat librum quem dominus prior sancte Trinitatis Londoniis ex gallica lingua in latinum tam eleganti quam ueraci stilo transferri fecit.*

¹²⁹ Willoughby, ‘A Templar chronicle’, p. 127.

and about the acquisition of the remaining cities, and about the disagreement that arose between the aforesaid emperor and the marquis of Montferrat, let him read the letters that the same emperor and Hugh, count of Saint-Pol, sent to their friends remaining in the western regions of the world.¹³⁰

Taken together with the palaeographical evidence, all of these parallels lend weight to Willoughby's proposition that Ralph of Coggeshall was responsible for the continuation of the *Libellus*. At the very least, it seems likely that Ralph, as abbot of Coggeshall for a significant portion of the period when work on the *Chronicon Anglicanum* was being carried out (that is, until the late 1220s), would have exercised some kind of editorial oversight of this project.

As for Part I, its detailed and apparently very accurate representation of the events of 1187 places beyond reasonable doubt its author's claim that he was in the Holy Land at the time. In the chapter on the siege of Ascalon (Chapter XXI), the *Libellus* notes that there was a solar eclipse on 4 September 1187 'at the ninth hour' (*hora nona*) of the day. This coheres with data provided by NASA's 'Solar Eclipses of Historical Interest' database. From Ascalon, the eclipse would have appeared close to total, with a magnitude of 0.919 and 91% obscuration. It began around 10:50 am, reached its maximum around 12:04 pm, and ended around 1:13 pm. In Jerusalem, where the author probably was at the time, the eclipse would have appeared even more complete, with a magnitude of 0.932 and close to 93% obscuration. The author's statement that the eclipse took place 'in the ninth hour' (*hora nona*) could, of course, be a subtle allusion to the eclipse said to have accompanied Christ's crucifixion in Matthew 27:45–6, Mark 15:33–4, and Luke 23:44–5, all of which describe a darkness beginning in 'the sixth hour' and ending in 'the ninth hour'; but if so, the allusion is not made explicit. According to the series of canonical hours observed by medieval Catholic communities, 'the sixth hour' was around midday and 'the ninth hour'

¹³⁰ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 72: *Si quis autem plenius nosse desiderat qualiter urbs Constantinopolis semel et iterum ab exercitu Latinorum Hierusalem tendentium capta sit, et quomodo comes Flandrensis imperator sit effectus, et de adeptione reliquarum civitatum, et de dissensione quae suborta est inter praedictum imperatorem et marchionem de Monteferrato, legat epistolas quas idem imperator et H. comes de Sancto-Paulo direxerunt ad amicos suos in occiduas mundi partes commanentes*. On the different versions of Hugh of Saint-Pol's letter(s) to the West, see Alfred J. Andrea (trans.), *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade, The Medieval Mediterranean 29* (Leiden, Boston and Köln, 2000), pp. 177–86, with a translation on pp. 187–201. Andrea argues (pp. 177–78) that Ralph relied heavily on a lost copy of Hugh's letter for his account of the capture of Constantinople by the Latins.

around 3:00 pm, which does not accord with the data from NASA. However, the author may have intended to indicate that the eclipse took place at noon. By the twelfth century, the Latin *hora nona* and Old French *nonne* and its variants appear to have semantically drifted towards the sense ‘midday’. Modern English ‘noon’ derives from this shift.¹³¹ Moreover, *Ernoul-Bernard* also gives ‘*nonne*’; it is unlikely that these texts, both based on testimony of those present, would have mistaken the time by three hours. If this hypothesis is correct, our author’s timing of the eclipse is precise.¹³²

One section of the *Libellus* that scholars have found particularly reliable is its description of the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn. This battle has been the subject of much scholarship.¹³³ It is not our intention to explore the military and logistical aspects of the account in detail here, but we agree with the consensus that the *Libellus* is certainly well-informed about the battle. Indeed, it is, in our view, the most detailed Western source on the battle (just as it gives the most detailed account of the Battle of Cresson), although all of the accounts complement each other in that they offer slightly different details and perspectives. In 1930, Dorothy Bovée speculated that the vantage from which the author retells the battle suggests that he may have been a part of the contingent surrounding the Holy Cross.¹³⁴ In our view, there is no firm evidence to prove that the author was at Ḥaṭṭīn. Even so, he had clearly received substantial reports on the battle from somebody who was, possibly a member of the entourage of Raymond of Tripoli.¹³⁵ Our author provides details on

¹³¹ On the complex semantic drift of ‘*nona hora*’ and ‘*nonne*’, see Magdalena Charzyńska-Wójcik, ‘Medieval multilingualism at noon—a preliminary report on insufficiency’, in Wojciech Malec, Marietta Rusinek, and Anna Sadowska (eds), *Challenging Ideas and Innovative Approaches in Applied Linguistics* (Lublin, 2015), pp. 151–74.

¹³² For data on the eclipse supplied by NASA, see Fred Espenak and Jean Meeus, *Five Millennium Canon of Solar Eclipses: -1999 to +3000* (Washington, D.C., 2006), n° 07584, plate 380, with an interactive map of the eclipse’s path available at <<https://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEsearch/SEsearchmap.php?Ecl=11870904>>, accessed 8 February 2018. Other sources mention the eclipse as well: *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVI (p. 185); Lyon *Eraclès*, §49, pp. 62–3 (trans. Edbury, pp. 53–5); *IP1*, p. 263; al-Maḳrīzī, p. 84; *History of the Patriarchs*, p. 128 (which also claims that the eclipse occurred at midday).

¹³³ John France, *Hattin* (Oxford, 2015); Barber, *The Crusader States*, pp. 289–323; Benjamin Z. Kedar, ‘The Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn Revisited’, in idem (ed.), *The Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn* (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 190–207.

¹³⁴ Dorothy Bovée, ‘A Comparison of the Original Sources for the Third Crusade’, unpublished MA thesis (University of Minnesota, 1930), p. 20. We are grateful to the University of Minnesota Library for supplying a copy of this work.

¹³⁵ Barber states that the author ‘seems to have been in Raymond’s part of the army’ at Ḥaṭṭīn: Barber, *The Crusader States*, p. 302. Mayer (ed.), *IP1*, p. 181 believes that our author relied on an informant in Raymond’s entourage, but not the author himself. Both views are ultimately speculative. Notably, Raymond disappears completely from the narrative after Ḥaṭṭīn.

the organisation of the armies, the topography of the battleground, and the military strategies of both sides. His overall sense of the topography is, once again, considerable. The text gives an apocalyptic, literary flavour that complements its historical detail to represent Ḥaṭṭīn in its rightful place as the battle that spelled the end of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The coherence between the *Libellus* and the important Arabic primary sources for 1187 also bolsters its claims to reliability and contemporaneity. Probably the most important Muslim account is provided by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (1125–1201) in his *Faṭḥ al-qussī fī l-faṭḥ al-qudsī* (*Kussian Eloquence on the Conquest of Jerusalem*), a text of a notoriously florid style which runs from 1187 to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s death in 1193. ‘Imād al-Dīn († 1201) was a poet and Islamic scholar, then secretary and epistolographer (*kātib*) in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s service, accompanying him for part of the invasion of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; his knowledge is therefore intimate.¹³⁶ The extent to which ‘Imād al-Dīn confirms information in the *Libellus* is frankly astounding. The *Faṭḥ al-qussī* influenced the biography of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn that was written at some stage between 1198 and 1216 by ‘Imād al-Dīn’s friend and colleague, Bahā’ al-Dīn ibn Shaddād (1145–1234). Partly but not completely derivative for 1187, Ibn Shaddād’s biography is more useful for the period 1188–1192, for much of which he accompanied Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his army’s judge (*qāḍī al-‘askar*) in the defensive campaign against the Third Crusade.¹³⁷ Also noteworthy is Ibn al-Athīr (1160–1232/3), arguably the most significant Arabic historian of the Middle Ages, who, aged 28, was himself with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s army for part of 1188.¹³⁸ His *Kāmil fī l-tarīkh*, completed in Mosul in the early 1230s, represents a monumental history of the Muslim world. Its discussion of 1187 relies on another text by ‘Imād al-Dīn, *al-Barq al-Shāmī* (*Syrian Lightning*), which is lost except for excerpts and abbreviations made by thirteenth-century historians, including al-Bundārī (fl. 1220s–40s) and Abū Shāma (1203–1268),

¹³⁶ In late July or early August 1187, ‘Imād al-Dīn left Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s camp at Beirut for Damascus due to illness, and returned later, arriving at Jerusalem on 3 October, a day after its fall. The portion of his testimony for September–October is therefore not an ‘eyewitness’ account. See Henri Massé, “‘Imād ad-Dīn’, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Massé’s French translation remains the only rendering into a European language: *La conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin* (Paris, 1972). See also Donald S. Richards, “‘Imād ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī: administrator, litterateur, and historian”, in Schatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, pp. 133–46. The title *Kussian Eloquence* refers to Ḳuss ibn Sā‘ida, a semi-legendary orator of Arab antiquity famed for his eloquence: Charles Pellat, ‘Ḳuss ibn Sā‘ida’, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

¹³⁷ The Arabic title of the biography is *Nawādir al-sultāniyya wa-l-mahāsini al-yūsuḫiyya aw sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*. We have used Donald S. Richards (trans.), *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin* (Aldershot, 2002).

¹³⁸ Franz Rosenthal, “Ibn al-Athīr”, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

the latter of whom also used Ibn al-Athīr and other contemporary works now lost.¹³⁹ Another source is the *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī'l tarīkh Ḥalab* of Ibn al-'Adīm (1192–1262), which briefly describes Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's conquest without much citation of sources.¹⁴⁰ The letters of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his epistolographers, particularly the *qādī* al-Fāḍil (1135–c. 1199), remain mostly unedited.¹⁴¹ There is also *The History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, a Coptic source written in Arabic and commenced in the tenth century by Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa', which has useful material on 1187 entered by an anonymous continuator writing prior to 1207.¹⁴²

The unique parallels between the *Libellus* and the Arabic sources are often quite striking. For example, the *Libellus* is the only western account to acknowledge the conquest of the Mount of Temptation (*Jabal Quruntul, Quarantena, La Quarantaine*), 'the place where our Saviour fasted for forty days and forty nights so that he might benevolently teach us to defeat the temptations of the Devil and the vices of the flesh'.¹⁴³ This settlement, situated roughly 11 km north-west of Jericho and mentioned infrequently in the sources, comprised a Templar castle and a priory subordinate to the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, no other western source gives an account of the fall of Ṣarafand (*Sarepta*), which is reported by Ibn Shaddād, Ibn al-Athīr, 'Imād al-Dīn, and Abū Shāma.¹⁴⁵ This village of citrus orchards, located

¹³⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 3. Abū Shāma's *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn* is excerpted in French translation by Barbier de Meynard in *RHC, Or.* vol. 4 (Paris, 1898) and vol. 5 (Paris, 1906). Abū Shāma preserves, among others, parts of the lost biography of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by Ibn Abī-Ṭayyī'. On the relationships between these sources, see Hamilton A. R. Gibb, 'The Arabic Sources for the Life of Saladin', *Speculum*, vol. 25, no. 1 (1950), 58–72; idem, 'al-Barq al-Shāmī: The History of Saladin by the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. 52 (1953), 93–115, reprinted in idem, *Saladin: Studies in Islamic History*, ed. Yūsuf Ibīsh (Beirut, 1974).

¹⁴⁰ Bernard Lewis, 'Ibn al-'Adīm', in *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

¹⁴¹ A letter from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn describing the capture of Tiberias has been edited and translated in Charles P. Melville and Malcolm C. Lyons, 'Saladin's Ḥaṭṭīn Letter', in Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn*, pp. 208–212. Stefan Leder, Sabine Dorpmüller, and Muhammad Helmy are co-ordinating a project at the Orient-Institut Beirut to provide a critical edition of the letters of the *qādī* al-Fāḍil. There are 760 in total, so the project is expected to take some time: <<https://www.orient-institut.org/research/current-projects/al-qadi-al-fadil/>>, accessed 5 June 2018.

¹⁴² *History of the Patriarchs*, pp. v–vii. See p. 133, n. 3 for the *terminus ante quem*.

¹⁴³ *Libellus*, c. XVIII: *locum in quo saluator noster .XL. diebus et .XL. noctibus ut nos temptamenta diaboli et uicia carnis per ieiunium uincere benigne doceret, ieiunauit.*

¹⁴⁴ It is mentioned in *Enroul-Bernard* but not in the context of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's conquest: c. VIII, pp. 78–9.

¹⁴⁵ Ibn Shaddād, p. 247; Ibn al-Athīr, II, 327; 'Imād al-Dīn, pp. 39–40; Abū Shāma, p. 303.

on the coast about halfway between Tyre and Sidon, was captured without a fight, and our author merely mentions it because of its association with St Elias.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, the *Libellus* notes that the siege of Jerusalem commenced on a Sunday (20 September 1187).¹⁴⁷ The date does not agree with the western sources, but does cohere with the Muslim ones, which give the date as Sunday, 15 *Rajab* 583 (Sunday, 20 September 1187); this is based ultimately on ‘Imād al-Dīn, who arrived just after the siege.¹⁴⁸ The *Libellus* is therefore the only western account to provide the correct date of the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem—aside from the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, which used it as a source.¹⁴⁹ In addition, after the capture of Jerusalem, the *Libellus* describes Saif al-Dīn and his men as ‘dwelling in revelling, drinking [and] wantonness’ in the Church of St Mary at Mount Zion and thereby polluting the holy site; ‘Imād al-Dīn confirms that Saif al-Dīn and his troops did indeed use the church as a residence.¹⁵⁰

Other elements indicate a close acquaintance with the Muslims’ military movements and actions. The *Libellus* describes the coastal foray of Saif al-Dīn, which does not appear in the Old French sources or *IP1*, all of which have Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn moving from Galilee to Acre, then down the coast towards Ascalon, capturing Caesarea, Arsuf, and Jaffa on the way south. These sources make no mention of Saif al-Dīn being at Ascalon.¹⁵¹ The campaign is, however, confirmed by Arabic sources. According to ‘Imād al-Dīn and Ibn al-Athīr, Saif al-Dīn was summoned from Egypt by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn immediately after Ḥaṭṭīn. He took Mirabel (Majdal Yābā) by surrender, captured Jaffa by storm, and then joined Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to besiege Ascalon.¹⁵² Our author was also informed of the military action at the siege

¹⁴⁶ See *Libellus*, c. XX and **Gazetteer**.

¹⁴⁷ See *Libellus*, c. XXIII.

¹⁴⁸ See below, n. 149.

¹⁴⁹ According to *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVIII (p. 211) and Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.lv (p. 82), the siege began on Thursday evening, whereas the Lyon *Eracles*, §50, pp. 63–4 (trans. Edbury, pp. 55–6) says it began on Friday morning. Ibn Shaddād, ‘Imād al-Dīn, and al-Maḳrīzī write that the siege began on Sunday 15 *Rajab*. In 1187 C.E. the Muslim year began on 13 March, making 15 *Rajab* equivalent to Sunday 20 September. See Greville Stewart Parker Freeman-Grenville, *The Muslim and Christian Calendars* (London, 1977), p. 32. Ibn al-Athīr merely gives ‘the middle of *Rajab*’. See Ibn Shaddād, p. 77; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, pp. 329–30; Abū Shāma, pp. 317, 326; al-Maḳrīzī, p. 84. Sāwīrus, p. 131 also has the siege opening on the Thursday night. See also Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 22.

¹⁵⁰ See *Libellus*, c. XXVI; ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 58.

¹⁵¹ See *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVI (pp. 183–4); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.li (p. 78); Lyon *Eracles*, §49, p. 62 (trans. Edbury, pp. 53–5); *IP1*, p. 263.

¹⁵² ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 35; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, pp. 325–6. Ibn Shaddād, pp. 76–7 does not mention Saif al-Dīn’s campaign at all. See also Abū Shāma, pp. 300, 302–3, 306, 312; *The History of the Patriarchs*, p. 126.

of Jerusalem. He writes that a ‘nephew’ (*nepos*) of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, dressed in silk and gold, was killed by a Christian sergeant halfway along the north-western wall of the city at St Stephen’s Gate, which the Muslims called the Damascus Gate. At the same geographical location and point in the narrative, Arabic sources mention the death of a senior emir named ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Īsā ibn Mālik. The dominant meaning of the Latin *nepos* is ‘nephew’ or ‘grandson’, but it can also mean something akin to ‘supporter’ or ‘ally’. This sense may be intended, or our author could be mistaken in believing the emir to be Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s nephew. In either case, the agreement of the *Libellus* and the Arabic sources on this point is striking.¹⁵³

The author in fact appears to have had at least a rudimentary knowledge of the Muslim world. In Chapter II, for example, he presents a list of numerous ethnic groups within the Muslim ranks: ‘Turks, Kurds, Syrians, Arabs, Alans, Cumans, Qipchaks, Idumaeans, Turkmens, Bedouins, Saracens, Egyptians, and those who lived in the land of Lebanon.’¹⁵⁴ This list is more detailed than other contemporary lists of Muslim ethnic groups, such as that in *IP1*.¹⁵⁵ The author singles out two of these groups for additional comment in Chapter XVI, where he reveals an awareness of Turkmen and Bedouin nomadism: ‘These [Turkmens and Bedouins] do not dwell in houses or castles, but, loving only plunder, they live on what they steal from others.’¹⁵⁶ Although pejorative, the general sense of his remark is correct, and accurately reflects Latin (and even Arabic) attitudes towards the behaviour of these nomadic tribes within the Kingdom of Jerusalem and contiguous regions.¹⁵⁷

The author also demonstrates basic knowledge of Islam and the Arabic language. Upon the capture of Jerusalem, he writes that the Muslims

first went up as if for the sake of prayer and worship to the Temple of the Lord—which they call *bayt Allāh*, and from which they have great

¹⁵³ *Libellus*, c. XXIII ; Abū Shāmā, p. 327 (citing ‘Imād al-Dīn); Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 331.

¹⁵⁴ *Libellus*, c. II: *Turci, Cordini, Siri, Arabes, Alani, Cumanni, Caffechaki, Idumei, Turcmani, Beduini, Sarraceni, Egiptii, et illi qui habitabant in terra Lieman*

¹⁵⁵ *IP1*, p. 256. On such lists generally, see Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross* (New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 228–29. For a detailed recent discussion of ideas about different Muslim ethnic groups and categories in western sources, see Nicholas Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 2016).

¹⁵⁶ *Libellus*, c. XVI: *Et isti quidem castellis et domibus non utuntur, sed tantum rapinam diligentes, de rapinis inter ceteros uiuunt.*

¹⁵⁷ See Jochen Schenk, ‘Nomadic Violence in the First Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Military Orders’, *Reading Medieval Studies* 36 (2010), pp. 39–55. On Arabic attitudes to the Bedouins and Turkmens, see Lyons and Jackson, pp. 156–7, 237.

assurance of salvation—thinking that they were cleansing that which they polluted with filth and horrible bellowings, shouting out the law of Muḥammad with polluted lips: ‘*Halla haucaber! Halla haucaber!*’¹⁵⁸

The proclamation of the Muslim *takbīr* (اللهُ أَكْبَرُ, *Allāhu akbar!* ‘God is greatest!’) is confirmed by ‘Imād al-Dīn, Ibn Shaddād, and Ibn al-Athīr, as is Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s cleansing of the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqṣā Mosque. While the Old French sources show awareness of the cleansing of these buildings with rose water, no other western source is known to mention the *takbīr* in this context, and our author’s transliteration of it suggests that he heard it himself.¹⁵⁹ The term *bayt Allāh* (بَيْتُ اللَّهِ), meaning ‘House of God’, is applied to the Dome of the Rock (Arabic *Qubbat al-Ṣakhra*) in the above passage, but in Arabic, it generally denotes a mosque, which the Dome of the Rock is not. Although it originally referred solely to the Ka’ba in Mecca, as the centuries went by the term came to be applied to mosques in general.¹⁶⁰ It is possible that the author meant the nearby al-Aqṣā Mosque, or that he simply misunderstood.¹⁶¹ Despite this apparent mistake, the author shows an understanding—however limited—of the importance of the Dome to the Muslim faith when he describes it as a place ‘from which they have great assurance of salvation’.¹⁶² Other Arabic terms rendered imperfectly into Latin include *fuqahā’* and *qūdā* (*alphachini et cassini*), whom our author describes disparagingly as ‘ministers of that wicked error, that is, bishops and priests according to the belief of the Saracens’.¹⁶³ The *fuqahā’* (فُقَهَاءُ; singular فُقَيْهٍ *faqīh*) are experts in Islamic jurisprudence, while *qūdā* (قُذَاةٌ; singular قَاذِي *qādī*) are judges in Sharia law; both terms remain in use today. The Latin *cassini* for *qādī* likely stems from the fact that the Arabic letter *dād* (د; transliterated as *d*)

¹⁵⁸ *Libellus*, c. XXV: *primum Templum Domini quod ‘beith halla’ uocant, et quo magnam saluationis habent fiduciam, quasi causa orationis et religionis ascenderunt, mundare estimantes quod spurciciis et mugitibus horribilibus, legem Maumeti pollutis labiis uociferando, ‘Halla haucaber, halla haucaber!’ polluerunt.*

¹⁵⁹ Ibn Shaddād, p. 78; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 334; ‘Imād al-Dīn, pp. 49–63; *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIX, p. 234. On the Temple area (Ḥaram al-Sharīf) and its buildings, see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 3, pp. 397–435 (n^{os} 367–9).

¹⁶⁰ Arent J. Wensinck and Jacques Jomier, ‘Ka’ba’; and Johannes Pedersen et al., ‘Masjdīd’, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*. See also Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863), book 1, part 1, p. 280.

¹⁶¹ It is nevertheless worth noting that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn held Friday prayer in the Dome of the Rock on 9 October: ‘Imād al-Dīn, pp. 51–61.

¹⁶² *Libellus*, c. XXV: *quo magnam saluationis habent fiduciam.*

¹⁶³ *Libellus*, c. XXV: *ministri scilicet nephandi erroris episcopi et presbiteri secundum opinionem Sarracenorum.*

could be pronounced in some regional variations with a sibilant sound akin to present-day English *s*.¹⁶⁴

The relationship between the *Libellus* and other western texts close to the events of 1187 further demonstrates its contemporaneity and reliability. To the best of our knowledge, the earliest person to have acknowledged these connections was Dorothy Bovée in her 1930 M.A. thesis, which has largely evaded scholarly attention.¹⁶⁵ More recently, James Kane has shown beyond reasonable doubt that the *Libellus* bears intimate parallels with *Ernoul-Bernard* and the Lyon and Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, and argued that the author of the *Libellus* may have been familiar with a prototypical version of Ernoul's account that extended no further than the surrender of Jerusalem.¹⁶⁶ The original version of *Ernoul* was written probably soon after 1187 ('before 1193', according to Peter Edbury),¹⁶⁷ but it is preserved only in a reworking made in the 1230s; this is generally referred to as *Ernoul-Bernard*. Ernoul himself is mentioned in five manuscripts of *Ernoul-Bernard*, which describe him as a squire (*varlés* or *varlet*) in the service of Balian of Ibelin, and the person who 'had this story put into writing' (*cest conte fist mestre en escript*).¹⁶⁸ A colophon in two manuscripts of the text indicates that one redactor was Bernard, treasurer of the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Corbie.¹⁶⁹ The name *Ernoul-Bernard* has stuck, though it is something of a misnomer, because it is unknown how many people beyond Ernoul and Bernard were involved with bringing the various iterations of the text into their present forms.

¹⁶⁴ On different spellings and pronunciations of *qādī*, see Stephen Frederic Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals* (Cambridge 2009), pp. xiii–xiv; cited in Kane, 'Wolf's hair', p. 107, n. 72. We owe this point originally to John Pryor.

¹⁶⁵ Dorothy Bovée, 'A Comparison of the Original Sources'. As far as we are aware, Baldwin, *Raymond III*, is the only major work on the crusades and the Latin East to cite Bovée's thesis.

¹⁶⁶ Kane, 'Wolf's Hair'. These arguments regarding proto-*Ernoul* draw heavily on the work of Peter Edbury: see especially Peter Edbury, 'Ernoul, *Eracles*, and the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', in Laura K. Morreale and Nicholas L. Paul (eds), *Communities and Communications in the Crusading Mediterranean* (New York, 2018), pp. 44–67.

¹⁶⁷ Edbury, 'Ernoul, *Eracles*, and the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', p. 53.

¹⁶⁸ *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XII, p. 149. The manuscripts that name Ernoul are listed as n^{os} 16–20 in Jaroslav Folda, 'Manuscripts of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre: a handlist', *Scriptorium*, vol. 27 (1973) pp. 90–95, at p. 93. For an initial stemma, see Massimiliano Gaggero, 'La *Chronique* d'Ernoul: problèmes et méthode d'édition', *Perspectives médiévales*, vol. 34 (2012), available at <<http://peme.revues.org/1608>>, accessed 12 June 2018.

¹⁶⁹ *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XLI, p. 472. See MSS 25 and 26 in Folda, 'Manuscripts', p. 93. On the problem of Bernard's precise involvement, see Gaggero, 'La *Chronique* d'Ernoul'.

More detail on the complex relationships between these various versions can be found in the scholarship of Peter Edbury, who together with Massimiliano Gaggero is currently preparing a long-awaited new edition of *Ernoul-Bernard*.¹⁷⁰

The *Libellus* also has parallels with the complex web of Old French continuations of William of Tyre's *Historia*. In 1184, William of Tyre finished his magnum opus, which was translated into Old French around 1220 near Paris.¹⁷¹ It was then fused with a version of *Ernoul-Bernard* in the early 1230s and continued. This inspired a series of texts known collectively as 'the *Eracles*' after their opening subject matter: the seventh-century Byzantine emperor, Heraclius. One noteworthy version is the Lyon *Eracles* (so named because of the current location of the manuscript), which incorporates material from *Ernoul-Bernard* with much revision, reached its final form in the 1240s or thereafter, and was possibly copied in Cyprus.¹⁷² The second noteworthy version is the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles* (named after the modern owners of the two manuscripts), which was written in the 1240s, probably at Acre.¹⁷³

Refining a suggestion made by John Gillingham in 1982, Edbury recently argued that the hypothetical proto-*Ernoul* ended with the capture of Jerusalem in October 1187.¹⁷⁴ The opening of *Ernoul-Bernard*—'Hear and learn how the land of Jerusalem and the Holy Cross was conquered by the Saracens from the Christians'—supports Edbury's view that the later parts of the narrative describing 1188–1232 are continuations made by different authors with different purposes in different contexts.¹⁷⁵ That the main narrative of the *Libellus* also originally ended in 1187 is beyond reasonable doubt.

¹⁷⁰ Edbury, 'Ernoul, *Eracles*, and the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem'; idem, 'The French Translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*: the Manuscript Tradition', *Crusades*, vol. 6 (2007), pp. 69–105. We are grateful to Professor Edbury and Dr Gaggero for their helpful advice on numerous points and their enthusiastic discussions with us over the years.

¹⁷¹ Edbury, 'Ernoul, *Eracles*, and the collapse', p. 44. See also Philip Handyside, *The Old French William of Tyre* (Oxford, 2015); John Pryor, 'The *Eracles* and William of Tyre: an interim report' in Kedar (ed.), *Horns of Haṭṭīn*, pp. 270–93; Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 3–5.

¹⁷² Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, p. 7; Jens Wollesen, *Acre or Cyprus? A New Approach to Crusader Painting* (Berlin 2013), p. 162.

¹⁷³ Edbury, 'New Perspectives on the Old French William of Tyre', *Crusades*, vol. 9 (2011), pp. 107–113.

¹⁷⁴ John Gillingham, 'Roger of Howden on Crusade', in David O. Morgan (ed.), *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds* (London, 1982), pp. 60–75, at pp. 72–73, n. 33; Edbury, 'Ernoul, *Eracles*, and the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', pp. 56–62.

¹⁷⁵ *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. I, pp. 4–5: *Oïés et entendés comment la tiere de Jherusalem et la Sainte Crois fu conquise de Sarrasins sour Cresttiens*.

Its opening line mentions only the ‘burdens and calamities’ under which ‘the Eastern Church has been oppressed and crushed by the pagans’, phrasing which does not appear to open a space for Part II’s summative description of the Third Crusade. This raises the question of the extent to which the *Libellus* and proto-*Ernoul* are related.

In a recent article, James Kane has identified various parallels in phrasing and historical detail between the texts.¹⁷⁶ At the council of barons at Şaffūriyah on 2 July 1187, prior to the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, the *Libellus* and the Old French texts cohere closely in the wording of Raymond of Tripoli’s speech. Although the *Libellus* withholds the accuser’s identity, the *Libellus* and Old French texts all detail Gerard de Ridefort’s accusation that Raymond was metaphorically cloaking himself in a treacherous wolf’s pelt:

LIBELLUS: ‘Still he hides in the skin of a wolf.’

ERNOUL-BERNARD: ‘He still has some of the hair of the wolf.’

LYON ERACLES: ‘Again he has some of the hair of the wolf.’

COLBERT-FONTAINEBLEAU ERACLES: ‘He still has some of the hair of the wolf.’¹⁷⁷

Moreover, the *Libellus* sides with Raymond, ‘who was saying true things’ (*uera dicentem*), a trait it shares with the Old French texts, while the majority of extant sources are critical of the count.¹⁷⁸

In a further parallel, in their respective accounts of the siege of Jerusalem, the *Libellus* and the Old French texts state in almost identical phrasing that:

LIBELLUS: ‘The arrows fell like drops of rain such that nobody could expose a finger above the ramparts without harm.’

ERNOUL-BERNARD: ‘Behind [Şalāḥ al-Dīn and his knights] were the archers who fired as thick as rain; nor was there any man within the city so bold that he dared show a finger on the walls.’

¹⁷⁶ Kane, ‘Wolf’s hair’.

¹⁷⁷ *Libellus*, c. X: *adhuc latet in pelle lupi*; Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII. xxxii (p. 49): *y a il dou poil dou loup*; Lyon *Eracles*, §32 (p. 44) (trans. Edbury, p. 38): *encores i a dou poil dou loup*; *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIII, p. 160: *qu’encore y avoit dou poil de l’ours*. We have replaced ‘l’ours’ (bear) with ‘loup’ (wolf) because, as Kane points out, the fourteenth-century manuscript Mas Latrie chose for his edition of *Ernoul-Bernard* is at odds with the majority of the manuscript tradition on this particular word, suggesting that ‘l’ours’ is probably a copyist’s error: Kane, ‘Wolf’s Hair’, pp. 102–4. The accusation also appears in the anonymous *Regni Iherosolymitani brevis historia* in Luigi Tommaso Belgrano (ed.), *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de’ suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, 5 vols (Genoa, 1890–1929), vol. 1, pp. 127–46, here p. 140.

¹⁷⁸ *Libellus*, c. X. On Raymond’s reputation in western sources, see Baldwin, *Raymond III*, pp. 156–60.

LYON *ERACLES*: ‘The archers were behind [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his knights], and they fired so thickly like rain; and nor was there a man in the city so bold who dared show his finger to the wall.’

COLBERT-FONTAINEBLEAU *ERACLES*: ‘Behind [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his knights] were the archers who fired as thick as rain. There was no man in the city so bold who dared show a finger to the walls.’¹⁷⁹

William of Tyre says that at Saladin’s 1182 siege of Beirut the arrows ‘covered the city and the walls like hail’, and Abū Shāma records two letters of the *qādī* al-Fāḍil that describe the 1184 siege of Kerak in similar terms: ‘it seemed that [there was] a rain of iron ... no Frank could put his head out without an arrow piercing the eye.’¹⁸⁰ Such imagery no doubt sprang naturally to the minds of writers describing medieval sieges, and yet the exact collocation of the two clauses in the *Libellus* and the Old French texts at this particular point in the narrative suggests that borrowing of some kind has taken place.

Lastly, we must consider the passages that mention the *fuqahā’* and *qūdā’* (*alphachini et cassini*). During the siege of Jerusalem, after a failed embassy to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the author of the *Libellus* writes that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn,

refusing, is said to have given this response: ‘Indeed, I have frequently heard from our wise men, the *fuqahā’*, that Jerusalem cannot be cleansed unless it is washed in the blood of Christians, and I wish to have their counsel concerning this.’¹⁸¹

The passive and impersonal framing of this statement (‘Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ... is said to have given this response’) suggests that our author was not a part of the embassy, and that he heard of its outcome at second hand. While the *Libellus* as usual obscures the name, similar passages exist in the Old

¹⁷⁹ *Libellus*, c. XXIII: *Cadebant autem sagitte sicut stille pluuiarum, ita ut nemo digitum ad propugnacula sine lesione poterat ostendere*; Ernoul-Bernard, c. XVIII, p. 214: *et deriere aus estoient li archier qui traioient si dru com pluie; ne n’avoit si hardi home dedens le cité qui as murs osast moustrer le doit*; Lyon *Eracles*, §51, p. 65 (trans. Edbury, pp. 56–7): *et les archiers furent par derieres, et traistrent ensi espesement come plu. Et nen aveit si hardi home en la cité qui osast mostrer son doi desur le mur*; Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.lvi (p. 84): *et derriere eauz estoient li archier qui traioient si espes come pluie. Il n’i avoit si hardi home dedens la cité qui as murs osast mostrer le doi*.

¹⁸⁰ William of Tyre, 22.19(18), p. 1035; Abū Shāma, vol. 2, pp. 246, 252.

¹⁸¹ *Libellus*, c. XXIII: *At illo renuente, tale fertur dedisse responsum: ‘Ego uero a sapientibus nostris alphachinis frequenter audiui Ierusalem non posse mundari, nisi sanguine christianorum lauatur, atque super hoc eorum uolo habere consilium.’*

French texts that specify that Balian of Ibelin headed up the embassy.¹⁸² In the Lyon *Eracles*, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn tells Balian that

‘the *faquirs* and the *hages* and the other religious of the law of Muḥammad pester and urge me greatly to give you no truce, but rather, revenge by spilling the blood of those in Jerusalem through the streets of Jerusalem and at the Temple as much as Godfrey spilled that of the Saracens [in the 1099 massacre in Jerusalem].’¹⁸³

The similarity between the Lyon *Eracles* and the *Libellus* on this point suggests a textual relationship, though there are differences, such as the mention of 1099 and the use of *les hages* in addition to *alphacini*. *Les hages* is a transliteration of the Arabic *ḥujjāj* (حُجَّاج; singular حَاج *ḥajjī*), which refers to those who have completed the *ḥajj*, the pilgrimage to Mecca required of all eligible Muslims at least once in their lifetime. Arabic sources put similar words into the mouth of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, so there is a sense that his response to the embassy circulated on both sides.¹⁸⁴ Yet the equal mention of *alphacini* and *faquirs* in the Lyon *Eracles* and the *Libellus* seems to be no coincidence.¹⁸⁵

The similarities analysed here suggest that the *Libellus* is closely aligned with the Old French narratives that have the hypothetical proto-*Ernoul* at their core. This observation also raises the important question of whether the original *Ernoul* was written in Old French or Latin. Although the wide array of Old French texts relating to *Ernoul* suggests that Old French was its language of original composition, a Latin original cannot be completely ruled out. Having said this, there are a number of usages in the Latin of the *Libellus* that hint at a writer thinking in a Romance language. For example, in Chapter XI, during the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, Raymond laments when Guy orders the erection of tents that ‘the battle (*guerra*) is lost!’ The use of

¹⁸² Kane, ‘Wolf’s Hair’, pp. 105–7.

¹⁸³ Lyon *Eracles*, §53, p. 66 (trans. Edbury, p. 58): *Adonc quant Salahadin vit ses genz et ses banieres sur les murs de la cité si dist a Balian: ‘Por quei me requerés vos la cité rendre et de faire pais? Car vos veés bien que mes banieres et mes genz sont sur les murs de la cité. Ce est a tart: bien veés vos que la cité est moie. Et ensurquetot les faquirs et les hages et li autres religious de la lei de Mahomet m’angoissent et hastent mout que je ne vos doigne nule fiance, ains revenge par ceaus qui sont en Jerusalem de lor sanc espandant par mi les rues de Jerusalem et au Temple autretant come Godefroi espandi de celui des Sarazins.’*

¹⁸⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 332; Abū Shāma, p. 328; Abū l-Fidā, p. 57.

¹⁸⁵ Kane, ‘Wolf’s hair’, pp. 107–8. Further textual parallels between the *Libellus* and the Old French sources exist, but we have selected only the most striking for mention here.

guerra, cognate with Old French *guerre* and other Romance equivalents, instead of the Latin *bellum*, may hint at a writer thinking in or translating from a Romance language. A meticulous philological exploration may be useful to determine if there are any further linguistic markers that support a movement from Old French to Latin (or from Latin to Old French). In the meantime, we subscribe to the orthodox view that proto-*Ernoul* was probably written in Old French. But the question remains as to why *Ernoul* was penned in the vernacular. Since our author and (presumably) *Ernoul* were present in Jerusalem during the siege, it is possible that they crossed paths and then produced their texts in tandem—one for an ecclesiastical audience, one for a secular audience.

In addition to the similarities between the *Libellus* and the Old French texts, there are also noteworthy differences. One important example lies in the reference to a second embassy to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn during the siege of Jerusalem. After the failure of the delegation described above, whose members are unnamed, a second sets out to discuss terms with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: ‘They sent others, too: Balian, and Rainer of Nablus, and Thomas Patricius, offering [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] 100,000 bezants; but he did not wish to receive them.’¹⁸⁶ While Balian of Ibelin is well-known, Rainer of Nablus and Thomas Patricius are not mentioned at all in the extant versions of *Ernoul-Bernard* or the Lyon and Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*. Charter evidence nevertheless confirms that they were real people in the Ibelin sphere of influence. Rainer first appears in the record on 9 August 1168, and is named as a witness alongside Balian on documents of the 1170s pertaining to transactions involving Ibelin lands near Nablus.¹⁸⁷ Thomas Patricius is mentioned as the son of John Patricius and his wife Bruna in a charter of c. 1140 that describes John obtaining the settlements (*casalia*) of Kafr Malik and ‘Ayn Qiniya. He later appears in the witness lists of several documents along with his brother Eustace, among certain ‘knights’ (*milites*) or by himself among

¹⁸⁶ *Libellus*, c. XXIII: *Miserunt et alios, Balisanum et Rainerium Neapolenses, et Thomam Patricium, centum milia bisanciorum offerentes, nec uoluit eos recipere.*

¹⁸⁷ Note that this Rainer of Nablus appears to be distinct from the Rainer of Nablus who was the son of Peter of Nablus. See Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19–1314* (Göttingen, 1974), pp. 107–122, here pp. 79–80; and Malcolm Barber, ‘The career of Philip of Nablus in the Kingdom of Jerusalem’, in Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips (eds), *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 2: *Defining the Crusader Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 60–75, at p. 72. Peter Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 145–46 suggests that Rainer might have been the son of Roardus, former viscount of Jerusalem. For his first documentary appearance, see RRRH n° 805.

the ‘men of Jerusalem’ (*virī Jerusalem*).¹⁸⁸ This detail places beyond reasonable doubt our author’s claim he was present in Jerusalem and demonstrates that he had access to information about the activities of Balian of Ibelin and those in his circle.¹⁸⁹

Certain other details in the Old French texts do not appear in the *Libellus*. As discussed above, there is no explicit mention of Raymond of Tripoli’s negotiations with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the winter of 1186–7.¹⁹⁰ But most of the silences seem to pertain to Eraclius. The *Libellus* does not explain why he transferred custodianship of the Holy Cross to the Bishops of Lydda and Acre prior to Ḥaṭṭīn, although the Old French texts offer some salacious remarks about Pasque de Riveri.¹⁹¹ At Jerusalem, our author seems unaware—or unwilling to mention—that the silver used to strike coins in an attempt to attract fighters to the walls was melted down from the edicule of the Sepulchre.¹⁹² At the conclusion of Chapter XXIII, our author laments that the Jerusalemites did not fight to the death and accept their place in the heavenly Jerusalem through martyrdom; instead, they ‘[loved] their land, [which was] full of sins, more than Christ’ (*humum suam peccatis plenam plusquam Christum diligentes*) and were ‘moved by the remembrance of their beautiful wives, sons, and daughters, and also of Mammon, whom they served’ (*pulcrarum mulierum filiorum et filiarum Mammone quoque cui seruiebant recordatione commoti*).¹⁹³ The *Libellus* takes a diametrically opposite view to *Ernoul-Bernard*, which claims that it was Eraclius who, for love of the people’s lives, advised Balian to come to terms at Jerusalem.

¹⁸⁸ RRRH nos 675; 706; 867; 909. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had ‘at one point’ (*quandoque*) allegedly met Eustace Patricius and Balian of Ibelin in his tent and told them that Raymond of Tripoli had given him ‘the whole Holy Land’ (*totam terram promissionis*), according to a report brought back to the West in 1189 by envoys whom King Philip II of France had sent to the court of the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelos, as recorded in Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum*, ed. William Stubbs, *Radulphi de Diceto decani Londoniensis opera historica: The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto*, 2 vols (London, 1876), vol. 2, p. 59.

¹⁸⁹ For further discussion, including full bibliographical references, see Kane, ‘Wolf’s hair’, pp. 109–10.

¹⁹⁰ See above, pp. 4–5.

¹⁹¹ See above, pp. 21–2.

¹⁹² *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XV, pp. 174–6; Lyon *Eraclius*, §55, p. 68 (trans. Edbury, p. 60); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eraclius*, XXIII.lvi (pp. 84–7); ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 49. On the coins, see also D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusade and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford* (Oxford, revised edition, 1995), pp. 75–7; C. J. Sabine, ‘Numismatic iconography of the Tower of David and the Holy Sepulchre: An emergency coinage struck during the siege of Jerusalem, 1187’, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 19 (1979), pp. 122–32. ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 49 also says that Eraclius took the gold, silver, fabrics, and tapestries from the Sepulchre upon departing Jerusalem.

¹⁹³ *Libellus*, c. XXIII.

Eraclius believed that, if they did not surrender, the Muslims would enslave the women and children and force them to convert to Islam.¹⁹⁴ This would seem an apposite opportunity for our author to extend his condemnation of the patriarch, and yet our author leaves his criticism in general terms. The *Libellus* also ignores Eraclius and Balian's laudable efforts after the capitulation to release Henry II's treasure to ransom the poor. This paid for around 18,000 people, but which was insufficient to ransom a further 16,000. The Old French texts say that Eraclius and Balian offered themselves as hostages in exchange for these 16,000, but Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn refused, and so the masses were enslaved.¹⁹⁵ Instead, our author curses the unspecified 'men of Jerusalem' who arranged the city's handover by equating them to Judas Iscariot:

May these most evil merchants who sold the Holy City and Christ for a second time perish, just like that wicked merchant who burst asunder in the midst [when he was] hanged—and what is worse, all the organs of his wickedness have gushed out upon them.¹⁹⁶

While the guarded hints about Raymond of Tripoli's misdeeds speak to our author's relatively favourable stance towards the count, the silences about Eraclius probably reveal his ignorance of the exact nature of the negotiations in Jerusalem. Perhaps the author's depiction of the siege of Jerusalem could be characterised as the view of the 'man on the street'—or more correctly, the 'clergyman on the street'—in contrast to the

¹⁹⁴ *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIX, pp. 217–31.

¹⁹⁵ *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIX, pp. 217–31; Lyon *Eracles* §53, pp. 55–7 (trans. Edbury, pp. 57–9; Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.lvi–lxii (pp. 84–98). Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius', p. 201 suggested that the disjunction between this sympathetic portrayal of Eraclius at Jerusalem and the earlier invectives against him possibly hints at a multiple authorship of proto-*Ernoul*. Richard Abels also noted that the *Libellus* lacks some details of the peace negotiations: 'Cultural representation and the practice of war', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, vol. 6 (2008), pp. 1–31, here p. 20.

¹⁹⁶ *Libellus*, c. XXIV: *Pereant isti mercatores pessimi qui secundo Christum et sanctam ciuitatem uendiderunt, sicut ille mercator malignus qui suspensus crepuit medius, et quod peius est, diffusa sunt omnia uiscera malignitatis eius in istis, scilicet in illis qui pro impositione manuum et ecclesiasticis sacramentis munera exigunt*. The story of Judas' suicide is told at Matthew 27:3–10, while the detail that his bowels burst asunder is from Acts 1:18–19. The author does not explicitly state the involvement of Eraclius in handing over the city, but the previous chapter (Chapter XXIII) notes that the herald offering money to potential soldiers was sent 'on behalf of the lord patriarch and the other great men of the city' (*ex parte domini patriarche et ceterorum magnorum ciuitatis*).

aristocratic view of the Old French texts at this juncture, informed by Balian's squire Ernoul.

On the basis of the above discussion, the following conclusions seem to be beyond reasonable doubt: the author of the *Libellus* was present at the siege of Jerusalem; he was an ecclesiastic (likely a monk, given his exegetical style); and his text relates in some way to an early version of *Ernoul*. Based on the partisanship expressed throughout the text, the author was, relative to other sources, condemnatory of Eraclius, critical of Guy de Lusignan and Gerard de Ridefort, and supportive of Raymond of Tripoli. Are there any clues beyond this as to his status and position within the Kingdom of Jerusalem?

In his account of Šalāh al-Dīn's invasion of the mountainous region around Jerusalem in Chapter XXII, the author of the *Libellus* draws particular attention to a Premonstratensian abbey (*cenobium*) built on a hill which he identifies with the biblical Mount Shiloh:

Others hasten[ed] to the holy Mount Shiloh, where the sons of Israel once set up that marvellous tabernacle with its furniture [Judges 18:1]. In this place, with God calling 'Samuel, Samuel,' from heaven, the holy Samuel, mildest and holiest of all the prophets, replied with an innocent mouth free from all stain of contagion: 'Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth.' [1 Kings 3:10] Now a monastery of Premonstratensian canons has been built here in honour of St Samuel—may their prayers, poured out together with the prayers of Moses and Aaron, obtain forgiveness of our sins from God.¹⁹⁷

Given that the author mentions no other monastic communities in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, it is reasonable to suggest that his interest in the abbey of St Samuel may have been more than merely academic.

As Denys Pringle has shown, parts of this building survive as the Church of St Samuel on the hill of Nabi Samwil, which lies 7.5 km to the north-west of Jerusalem.¹⁹⁸ In the early centuries of Christianity, Nabi Samwil competed

¹⁹⁷ *Libellus*, c. XXII: *Alii quidem ad montem sanctum Sylo properantes, ubi quondam filii Israel illud mirabile tabernaculum cum utensilibus suis tetenderunt. In quo loco sanctus Samuel mitissimus et sanctissimus omnium prophetarum, deo de celo clamante, 'Samuel, Samuel,' ore innocente et mundo ab omni labe contagionis respondit: 'Loquere, domine, quia audit seruus tuus,' vbi nunc constructum est cenobium canonicorum Premonstratensium in honore sancti Samuelis, cuius preces cum precibus Moysi, et Aaron apud deum fuse, nostrorum ueniam impetrent peccatorum.* The author coupled the canons' prayers with 'the prayers of Moses and Aaron' because the (relatively new) Premonstratensian monastery had both literally and figuratively assumed the function of the ancient tabernacle on Mount Shiloh.

¹⁹⁸ Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 85–94 (n° 159).

with Rama (Ramathaim-Zophim) as a candidate for the site of the prophet Samuel's burial, and a Byzantine monastery appears to have been built there by the middle of the sixth century.¹⁹⁹

In a document dated 30 December 1184 [*recte* 1185], King Baldwin V of Jerusalem confirmed the abbey's rights and possessions and identified his great-great-grandfather, King Baldwin II (*r.* 1118–31), as its founder. This document also confirms a sale of land by Rainer of Nablus to the monks of St Samuel, and has among its witness list Bernard of Lydda, Raymond of Tripoli, Guy de Lusignan, Joscelin of Courtenay, Baldwin of Ramla, and Reynald of Sidon.²⁰⁰ This shows that the monks of St Samuel were reasonably well-connected, including to Rainer of Nablus, whom the *Libellus* describes as a member of the second embassy sent to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn at Jerusalem. Baldwin II's donation is confirmed by a charter of 1131, which notes that he gave 1,000 gold pieces to the Cistercians to build their abbey.²⁰¹ As Pringle points out, however, a letter dated to *c.* 1150 from Bernard of Clairvaux to the abbot of Prémontré indicates that the site of the abbey and the funds allocated to its establishment had originally been earmarked for the Cistercians, who gifted both the land and the money to the Premonstratensians.²⁰² Bernard seems to have had a particular interest in the fortunes of the order in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, as suggested by an undated letter of his commending the Premonstratensians to Queen Melisende (*r.* 1131–53, †1161).²⁰³ According to Pringle, St Samuel 'was a daughter house of Prémontré itself', and 'its abbot had the status of a suffragan of the patriarch of Jerusalem, with the right to a cross but not to a mitre nor a ring'.²⁰⁴

The site of St Samuel appears in the account of the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela (*c.* 1169–1171), who writes an 'evidently spurious' explanation of how it came to be associated with the prophet Samuel by claiming that the crusaders transported his relics there from 'Ramlah, the Ramah of old' in 1099.²⁰⁵ The German pilgrim John of Würzburg (*fl.* 1160s) refers to the place as 'Mount Shiloh and the town, which is also

¹⁹⁹ Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 85–6.

²⁰⁰ Mayer, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, pp. 773–76 (n° 453). For discussion, see Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'St. Samuel auf dem Freudenberge und sein Besitz nach einem unbekanntem Diplom König Balduins V.', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, vol. 44 (1964), pp. 35–71; reprinted in idem, *Kreuzzüge und lateinischer Osten*, n° VIII. See also Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 86–7.

²⁰¹ RRRH n° 294.

²⁰² Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, p. 86, citing *PL*, vol. 182, col. 454 (*Ep.* 253). See also RRRH n° 294.

²⁰³ Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, p. 86, citing *PL*, vol. 182, cols 557–8 (*Ep.* 355).

²⁰⁴ Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, p. 86.

²⁰⁵ Quoted in Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, p. 87.

called Rama, where the Ark of the Covenant and the Tabernacle of the Lord remained from the coming of the children of Israel until the time of the prophet Samuel and King David', but he made no reference to the religious community.²⁰⁶ The abbey does, however, appear in the pilgrimage account of Theoderic, based on his journey of c. 1169–74. He writes: 'On [Mount Shiloh] also, the prophet Samuel was buried, whence, having changed its original name, the same place is called At St Samuel (*Ad Sanctum Samuelem*); and there also exists there a community of professed monks who are called "the Greys" (*grisi*).'²⁰⁷

The disasters of 1187 effectively spelled the end for the Premonstratensians of St Samuel. In the thirteenth century the community was based at Acre, though Maron Benvenisti notes that the abbey 'seems to have returned to the crusaders under Richard of Cornwall's peace treaty' in 1241.²⁰⁸ What is perhaps most intriguing in the context of the attention given to the monastery in the *Libellus* is Ralph of Coggeshall's account of how a hermit dwelling 'at St Samuel on a certain hill' (*apud Sanctum Samuelem in quodam monte*) presented King Richard I of England with a relic of the True Cross in June 1192:

The night before, a certain religious had come to the king and brought him the command of a certain holy hermit, who ordered the king on God's behalf to hasten to visit him. Rising at night, having taken five hundred companions with him, the king came to the holy man. This man had stayed at St Samuel on a certain hill for a long time, and he possessed the spirit of prophecy in abundance. From the day when the Lord's Cross was captured and the land was lost, he had eaten nothing but grass and roots; nor did he make use of any cover, [but] he was covered only by his hair and his long beard. Looking at him in wonder for some time, the king asked what he wanted. Rejoicing at the king's arrival, the man led the king into his oratory, and, removing a stone from the stony wall, he withdrew a wooden cross, a cubit in size, from the wall and offered it solemnly to the king, declaring without a doubt

²⁰⁶ Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, p. 87, translating John of Würzburg, p. 85, ll. 146–9: ... *mons Sylo et civitas, quae et Rama, ubi archa testamenti et tabernaculum domini ab adventu filiorum Israel remanserunt usque ad tempora Samuelis prophetae et David regis.*

²⁰⁷ Adapted from Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, p. 87, translating Theoderic, p. 185, ll. 1286–9: *In Sylo quoque Samuel propheta fuit sepultus, unde mutato nomine pristino idem locus Ad Sanctum Samuelem appellatur, ubi etiam congregatio monastice professionis, qui 'Grisi' appellantur, existit.*

²⁰⁸ Maron Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1970), p. 363. Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, p. 87 points out that 'all would have been lost in 1244' during the Khwarezmian conquest.

that this was the Lord's Cross. Among other things, he also predicted to the king that he would in no way obtain that land this time, although he had performed vigorously everywhere; and so that the king might place his faith in his words with greater certainty, he declared that he himself would depart from this world seven days from then. The king led him to the camp with him in order to put the truth of his words to the test, and he was withdrawn from this light on the seventh day, just as he had predicted.²⁰⁹

It is unclear from Ralph's account whether this mysterious hermit had been residing in the remains of the abbey itself or was simply hiding out in a cave or rock-cut chapel somewhere in its vicinity. Nor is it evident where Ralph obtained this story from, although its insertion into the earliest manuscript of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* suggests that he learned of it after penning his initial account of Richard's exploits on the Third Crusade. The striking thing in this instance is that the *Libellus* and the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, which stem from the scriptorium of Coggeshall in their extant manuscript forms, both subject the site of St Samuel to scrutiny (however fleeting). Can their shared interest perhaps be explained by a Cistercian connection?

A related question—albeit one that cannot be answered with absolute certainty—is whether the author of Part I of the *Libellus* in its extant form was himself a Cistercian. If, as we are inclined to believe, he had spent enough time in the East to foster the close geographical understanding of the Holy Land that he displays in the *Libellus*, then it is also worth asking if he might have resided in any particular religious house or houses there. If our

²⁰⁹ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 40–1: *Nocte vero praecedenti, quidam religiosus ad regem venerat, et mandatum cujusdam sancti eremita ad eum detulerat, qui regi ex parte Dei mandavit ut ad eum visendum properaret. Rex autem de nocte consurgens, assumptis secum quingentis sociis, ad sanctum virum pervenit. Hic vero per longum tempus apud Sanctum Samuelem in quodam monte manserat, ac spiritu prophetiae pollebat; qui a die illa qua crux Dominica capta est et terra amissa, nihil nisi herbas et radices comederat, nec ullo tegmine utebatur, capillis tantummodo et barba prolixa operiebatur; quem rex diutius admirando intuens, sciscitabatur quid vellet. Ille vero ex adventu regis gavisus, regem in oratorium suum adduxit, eruensque lapidem de muro lapideo, crucem ligneam et cubitalem de muro extraxit et regi devote porrexit, asserens absque dubio hanc crucem de ligno Domini fuisse. Regi etiam inter alia praedixit quod nequaquam hac vice terram illam obtineret, quamvis strenue ubique egisset; et ut certius dictis ejus rex fidem accommodaret, assererat seipsum ab hoc saeculo die septimo migraturum. Quem rex secum ad castra adduxit, ut dictorum ejus comprobaret veritatem, et, sicut praedixerat, die septima ab hac luce subtractus est.* This account is interfoliated in the 'autograph' manuscript of the *Chronicon*: see London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. X, fol. 59v.

author was a Premonstratensian, then the canons at Nabi Samwil would seem to have been ideal hosts. If nothing else, the way in which he foregrounds the community in Chapter XXII suggests that he was familiar with the abbey, and it is not inconceivable that he had visited the canons. Even if he was in fact a Cistercian, the community of St Samuel is unlikely to have denied him hospitality, given the influence of Cistercian ideals on the life and thought of the Premonstratensians. But where could he have stayed if he had been looking for specifically Cistercian houses in the Holy Land?

There is little firm evidence for the presence of Cistercian communities within the Kingdom of Jerusalem itself in the twelfth century.²¹⁰ Nevertheless, two houses are known to have existed. The first, known simply as Salvation (*Salvatio*), was founded in 1163 as a daughter-house of Morimond.²¹¹ Its location has been contested, but Pringle argues that it should be identified with what appear to be the remains of a monastery at ^ʿAllar as-Sufila (^ʿAllar al-Sifla or Khirbat al-Tannur; *Hebr.* Ḥorvat Tannur) along the Wadi Tannur, 19 km south-west of Jerusalem.²¹² The second, called St John in the Woods (*in nemore*), was established in 1169 as a daughter-house of Belmont (south-east of Tripoli) at ^ʿAin Kārim (*Hebr.* Ein Kerem), 8 km south-west of Jerusalem.²¹³ Although neither monastery seems on the available evidence to have played a significant role in the political or religious life of the kingdom, Hamilton has suggested that their respective abbots may in fact appear in the following passage from the account of Sibylla's coronation in *Ernoul-Bernard*:

[Patriarch Eraclius, Gerard de Ridefort, and Reynald de Châtillon] took counsel as to what they should do. They advised the countess to summon the count of Tripoli and the barons who were at Nablus to come to her coronation as the kingdom had fallen to her by inheritance. She immediately sent messengers telling them to come. The barons at

²¹⁰ Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), p. 102; Andrew Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States* (University Park, PA, 1995), p. 58.

²¹¹ Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 102; Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 47–52 (n° 9); Pringle, 'Cistercian Houses in the Kingdom of Jerusalem', in Michael Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York, 1992), pp. 183–98, here pp. 189–90.

²¹² Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 102; Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 47–52; Pringle, 'Cistercian Houses', pp. 189–90. The site of these ruins lies along the Nahal Zano'ah just to the west of Mata in modern Israel.

²¹³ Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 102; Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 38–47 (n° 8); Pringle, 'Cistercian Houses', pp. 183–8. Pringle identifies this as the Church of the Visitation, traditionally held to be the site where St Elizabeth hid with John the Baptist during King Herod's Slaughter of the Innocents.

Nablus refused. Instead, they chose two abbots of the order of Cîteaux and sent them to Jerusalem to the patriarch and to the masters of the Temple and Hospital, and forbade them in the name of God and the Pope to crown the countess of Jaffa before they had taken counsel concerning those matters about which they had sworn the oath in the time of the leper king. The abbots went to Jerusalem and delivered their message.²¹⁴

Kevin Lewis is inclined to accept Hamilton's suggestion. As he suggests, it is unlikely that one of these Cistercians was the abbot of Belmont in Raymond's own county of Tripoli.²¹⁵ This was founded in (or certainly by) 1157 on the site of an old Orthodox monastery that may have fallen into disuse by the time of the First Crusade.²¹⁶ Given its distance from Nablus, it appears unlikely that its abbot would have been asked to deliver the barons' reply to Jerusalem alongside his unknown colleague, unless he happened to have accompanied Raymond of Tripoli to the gathering at Nablus. Utilising abbots from the vicinity of Jerusalem would seem to have been more sensible. The bearers of this message may well have been the abbots of Salvation and St John in the Woods.²¹⁷ It is also possible that the abbots were pilgrims visiting from western Europe.

The Lyon *Eracles* concludes the passage quoted above on a slightly different note: 'The abbots went to Jerusalem and two knights [went] with them: Jean de Belesme and William le Keu, who was the father of Thomas de St Bertin, and they carried their message.'²¹⁸ These knights appear to have been acquainted with the Ibelin family. In a charter dated to 1178 drawn up by William of Tyre, Jean de Belesme appears in the witness list along with the Ibelin brothers (Baldwin and Balian) and their supporters, including Reynald of Sidon. The charter concerns the Ibelin family's sale to the Hospital of the settlement (*casale*) of Sileta in the region of Nablus, along with 103 Bedouin families whose names are listed.²¹⁹ William le Keu's surname is equivalent to Latin *Cocus* and modern English 'Cook'. A Willelmus Cocus appears in two charters: one dated to 1180 and initiated by Balian

²¹⁴ *Ernoul*, c. XI (pp. 131–2). Translation adapted from Lyon *Eracles*, §17, pp. 31–2 (trans. Edbury, p. 25). See Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 102, n. 5; citing Hamilton, see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 39, 49–50, and Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli*, p. 260.

²¹⁵ Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli*, p. 260.

²¹⁶ Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli*, pp. 189–92.

²¹⁷ Lewis, *The Counts of Tripoli*, p. 260.

²¹⁸ Lyon *Eracles*, §17, pp. 31–2 (trans. Edbury, p. 25): *Li abé alerent en Jerusalem, et .ij. chevaliers avec yaus, Johan de Belesme, et Guillaume le Keu qui fu pere Thomas de Saint Bertin, et firent lor message.*

²¹⁹ RRRH n° 1009.

and Maria Komnēnē, with the support of Balian's brother Baldwin, detailing a grant of land to the Hospital; the second referring to another grant of land in 1168 relating to the Hospitallers at Bait Jibrin.²²⁰ A Thomas de St Bertin appears at Acre on 21 September 1206 in a document describing the oath of the fifteen-year-old Maria of Montferrat, Queen of Jerusalem (r. 1205–1212), to marry King Pere II of Aragón on the condition that he journey to the Holy Land by the Feast of All Saints after Easter 1207. (The proposed marriage never eventuated.) Alongside Maria Komnēnē (wife of Balian of Ibelin until his death in 1193), the witness list includes John and Philip of Ibelin (the two sons of Balian and Maria), and two other St Bertins (Walter and Amalric) among some seventy other people of varied ranks and '40 burgesses of Acre and most of the people of Tyre'.²²¹

The mention of the two unidentified Cistercian abbots in *Ernoul-Bernard* and the Old French *Continuations* of William of Tyre is an intriguing detail for several reasons. First of all, as we have shown, the author of the *Libellus* provides an account of the fall of Jerusalem that bears a strong resemblance to the hypothetical proto-*Ernoul* in terms of narrative structure and even (at times) phrasing.²²² Second, it is striking that the author begins his story with the machinations of Eraclius, Gerard de Ridefort, and Reynald de Châtillon following the death of Baldwin V, precisely the moment at which the abbots make their evanescent appearance on the stage set by *Ernoul-Bernard*. Third, the Lyon *Eracles* links the abbots to knights whom charter evidence suggests were associates of the Ibelins, while our author's mention of Rainer of Nablus and Thomas Patricius shows that he shared a similar set of acquaintances. Finally, there is little doubt that the extant *Libellus*, with its narrow manuscript tradition, owes its survival to the Cistercian house of Coggeshall.²²³ Taken together, all of this begs a tantalising question: did one or both of the Cistercian abbots whom the barons allegedly sent to Jerusalem have a part to play in the composition and early dissemination of the *Libellus*? Although this question cannot be answered with certainty, the hypothesis appears to explain many of the peculiarities of this enigmatic text.

²²⁰ RRRH n° 1055, 814. Others with the surname *Cocus/Coqus/Coquus* appear alongside Ibelins in other charters (RRRH n°s 1354, 618) or as burghers of Jerusalem (RRRH n°s 972, 578, 642, 650). On the equation of *le Keu* and *Cocus*, see Ernest Weekly, *Surnames* (New York, 1916), p. 15.

²²¹ RRRH n° 1576. Thomas de St Bertin is also referred to in Philip of Novara's legal treatise, *Le livre de forme de plait*, ed. P. Edbury (Nicosia, 2009), pp. 137, 270, 335. The text makes clear that Thomas had died prior to the treatise's composition (apparently in the early 1250s), and that he had a son named Walter.

²²² See Kane, 'Wolf's hair'.

²²³ Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle'.

Style, language, and exegesis

The author of Part I of the *Libellus* employs an elevated biblical register that consistently imbues his expression with the poetic, rhetorical, and ideological essence of the Old and New Testaments. A key example of this is Gerard de Ridefort's speech to his brethren in Chapter III, just prior to the Battle of Cresson:

Then the master of the Order of the Temple addressed his companions in this way: 'My dearest brothers [James 1:16, 1:19, 2:5] and fellow soldiers [Philippians 2:25; Philemon 1:2], you have always withstood these deceitful and fallen ones; you have exacted vengeance from them; you have always had victory over them. Therefore, gird yourselves [Isaiah 8:9], and stand firm in the Lord's battle [Ezekiel 13:5], and remember your fathers [Judith 4:13], the Maccabees, whose duty of fighting for the Church, for the Law, [and] for the inheritance of the Crucified One you have now taken upon yourselves for a long time. But know that your fathers were victors everywhere not so much by numbers or in arms, as through faith, and justice, and observance of God's commands [1 Corinthians 7:19], since it is not difficult to triumph either with many [men] or few when victory is from heaven [1 Machabees 3:18–19; Kings 14:6].'²²⁴

The author uses biblical phraseology even in passages that are not at all exegetical. Indeed, there are few, if any, significant portions of the text that do not have any biblical diction. In the above passage, the author refers to 1 Maccabees, in which the Maccabees fight zealously for their Jewish faith against King Antiochus IV of Seleucia (c. 215–164 BCE), who was attempting to forcibly convert them. The use of the Maccabees as biblical archetypes for pious Christian warriors was common in crusading texts.²²⁵ Here, the author draws a parallel between the Templars' duty to uphold the Church, the Law (of the entire Bible), and 'the inheritance of the Crucified One' (the Kingdom of Jerusalem) and the Maccabees' duty to uphold the Jewish religion, the Law (of Moses), and the Kingdom of Israel. The conclusion of this address resonates with Judas Maccabeus' words to the Maccabees before

²²⁴ *Libellus*, c. III: *Tunc magister milicie templi socios suos ita affatus est: 'Fratres dilectissimi et commilitones mei, uos semper istis uanis et caducis restitistis, uindictam ex eis exegistis, de ipsis semper uictoriam habuistis. Accingite ergo uos et state in prelio domini et memores estote patrum uestrorum Machabeorum quorum uicem bellandi pro ecclesia, pro lege, pro hereditate crucifixi iam dudum subistis. Scitote uero patres uestros non tam multitudine, apparatu armato, quam fide et iusticia, et obseruatione mandatorum dei, uictores ubique fuisse, quia non est difficile uel in multis uel in paucis uincere, quando uictoria e celo est.'*

²²⁵ Nicholas Morton, 'The defence of the Holy Land and the memory of the Maccabees', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 36 (2010), 275–93.

their battle against the Seleucid army in 1 Maccabees 3:18–19: ‘It is an easy matter for many to be shut up in the hands of a few, and there is no difference in the sight of the God of heaven to deliver with a great multitude or with a small company, for the success of war is not in the multitude of the army, but strength cometh from heaven.’²²⁶

Although the author’s advocacy of martyrdom is typical of crusading literature, some of the biblical imagery he uses to depict it is quite sophisticated, and appropriate for a text of such rich emotion. In his account of the Battle of Cresson, the author laments the death of the Christian ‘lambs’ at the hands of Muslim ‘wolves’, and then alludes to the Song of Songs to compare the dead Christians’ bodies to roses:

A cruel spectacle, and one that all Christians should lament with weeping! The holy ones stood like lambs without bleating among the most rabid wolves, now about to make an offering to God, so that, with the sun growing hot, the divine fire might consume the sacrifices of peace-offerings. Indeed, it was springtime, with summer already approaching: the flowers of the vine (that is, of the Church) yielded their sweet smell, and the sheltered garden watered by the enclosed fountain brought forth red and very sweet roses for the spouse resting there long before among the whiteness of the lilies.²²⁷

The reference to lambs and wolves derives from Luke 10:3 (‘Go; behold: I send you as lambs among wolves’), while the phrase ‘without bleating’ (*sine balatu*) emphasises the holiness of the Christian soldiers in awaiting martyrdom without complaint (‘bleating’). The phrase ‘sacrifices of peace-offerings’ (*hostiae pacificorum*) is used in Leviticus and Numbers to describe animals burnt as sacrificial offerings to God.²²⁸ The author’s point is that the Christians who died at Cresson were martyrs who willingly gave up their lives (and so, allowed themselves to be metaphorically ‘burnt’) for God.²²⁹

²²⁶ Gerard’s speech also echoes Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, M. Conrad Greenia (trans.) (Kalamazoo, MI, 2000), p. 34. There are also resonances in Kings 14:6, and in *IP2*, I.v, p. 17 (Nicholson, p. 34).

²²⁷ *Libellus*, c. IV: *Crudele spectaculum et omnibus christianis cum fletu plangendum, stabant sancti quasi agni sine balatu, inter rabidissimos lupos iam deo oblaturi, quatinus sole calescente ignis diuinus hostias pacificorum consumeret. Enimuero tempore ueris erat, estate iam appropinquante, flores uinee, id est ecclesie, odorem dede-erunt, et ortus conclusus de fonte signato irrigatus rubicundas et suauiissimas sponso iam dudum inter candorem liliorum quiescenti optulit rosas.*

²²⁸ See Leviticus 23:19; Numbers 7:29, 35, 41, 47, 53, 59, 65, 71, 77, 83, 88.

²²⁹ On martyrdom as an act of peace, see Joachim Rother, ‘Embracing Death, Celebrating Life: Reflections on the concept of Martyrdom in the Order of the Knights Templar’, *Ordines Militares*, vol. 19 (2014), pp. 169–92.

But this passage primarily draws on the Song of Songs, with direct quotations from 2:13 ('The vines in flower yield their sweet smell') and 4:12 ('My sister, my spouse, is a garden enclosed, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up'). By yielding their 'sweet smell' (*odor*), the dying Christians (that is, 'the flowers of the vine') were performing acts of virtue in achieving martyrdom. In twelfth-century Christian exegesis, the female 'spouse' in the Song of Songs was often equated with Mary, who was also identified as the 'garden enclosed' and 'fountain sealed up'.²³⁰ The ephemeral nature of human life is also represented using flowers in Job 14:1–2, Psalms 102:15–16, Isaiah 40:6–8, and James 1:12. In Chapter VI, the author extends the analogy of corpses as flowers: 'And because it was the first day of May, on which flowers and roses were customarily gathered, the men of Nazareth gathered up the bodies of the Christians and buried them in the cemetery of [the Church of] the Blessed Mary in Nazareth.'²³¹ This brings the motif to an eloquent conclusion two chapters later, a further demonstration of the internal cohesion of Part I of the *Libellus*.

Stylistically, although some of the imagery in the text is rich, the Latin itself is competent but not entirely masterful. Occasionally, there are jarringly long sentences, such as the one that lauds Conrad of Montferrat in Chapter XX. This passage runs to 113 words in the Latin, and 146 words in our translation, which we have separated into three sentences for the sake of greater clarity.²³² Likewise, there is frequent tautology, which we have generally retained in our translation. For example, the Jerusalemites are 'overcome by the grief and sorrow of such wretchedness' (*dolore et merore tante miserie confecti*) due to the 'lust of their avarice' (*concupiscentiam auaricie sue*). Those who do not fight are condemned for the 'sloth of their indolence' (*ignauia sue pigricie*), while Ḥaṭṭīn is described as 'a day of tribulation and misery, a day of captivity and anguish, a day of lamentation and ruin' (*dies tribulationis et miserie, dies captiuitatis et angustie, dies planctus et perditionis*), and so on.²³³ This rhetorical mode suits the text's purpose by heightening its emotional impact.

²³⁰ See E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 151–77.

²³¹ *Libellus*, c. VI: *Et quia prima dies Maii erat qua flores et rose colligi solebant, uiri Nazareni colligebant corpora christianorum et sepelierunt ea in cimiterio beate Marie in Nazareth. Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XII (pp. 151–2), Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xxix (p. 44), and Lyon *Eracles*, §28, p. 41 (trans. Edbury, p. 34) confirm that Balian of Ibelin had the bodies recovered and buried in Nazareth.

²³² See *Libellus*, c. XX.

²³³ See *Libellus*, c. XXIII; c. XXIV; c. XII. The latter has biblical resonances in Zephaniah 1:15: 'That day is a day of wrath, a day of tribulation and distress, a day of calamity and misery, a day of darkness and obscurity, a day of clouds and whirlwinds ...'; Esther 11:8: 'And that was a day of darkness and danger, of tribulation and distress and great fear upon the earth'; Deuteronomy 34:8 'a day of lamentation' (*dies planctus*); and 'a day of ruin' (*dies perditionis*) in Deuteronomy 32:35, Job 21:30, Jeremiah 18:17, Obadiah 1:12.

Some sentences are structured in a way that makes the reading experience more difficult, such as in the following passage, where there is a lengthy excursus between the participle ('saying') and its subject ('the king of Babylon'). We have added brackets for greater clarity:

Meanwhile, the king of Babylon sent messengers to the Templars who were in the castle of Gaza (here, once, the extremely strong Samson, having recovered his strength, [cast] down the palace of Gaza so that, by dying, he might triumph over his enemies, gathered all together, and, crushed by the mass of the ruin itself, he fell dead as a victor, together with the enemies themselves),²³⁴ saying: 'See and consider carefully....'²³⁵

Some passages are long and ambiguous, especially where there are multiple nouns and multiple verbs. For example, one passage on the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn reads:

When our Christians reached the level ground of the field, the barbarians, feigning flight as if struck with fear, drew forward our pursuing knights far from the sergeants, so that, without fear of arrows, they might kill with arrows the knights separated from the foot soldiers, and, without fear of lances and swords, might kill the foot soldiers with arrows, swords, and iron maces. But when they had been divided over a wide area of the field, the ambush of the Saracens burst forth from the flanks and split the knights and foot soldiers into two groups, so that neither could assist the other at all.²³⁶

The multiple third-person nouns (Christians, barbarians, knights, sergeants, foot soldiers) make this passage difficult, but with careful parsing the meaning becomes clear enough:

When our Christians reached the level ground of the field, the barbarians, feigning flight as if struck with fear, drew forward our pursuing knights far

²³⁴ Judges 16:26–30.

²³⁵ *Libellus*, c. XXI: *Interea misit rex Babilonis legatos ad templarios qui erant in castello Gazaris, ubi quondam Sanson fortissimus ut de inimicis suis simul congregatis moriendo triumpharet, palatium Gazaris resumptis uiribus precipitans atque mole ipsius ruine oppressus cum ipsis hostibus uictor occubuit, dicens: 'Videte et diligenter considerate ...'*

²³⁶ *Libellus*, c. IV: *Cum uero planitiem campi nostri christiani attigerunt, barbari quasi timore perculti fugam simulantes milites nostros ultro persequentes longe a seruientibus protraxerunt, quatinus milites a pedibus separatos sine timore sagittarum sagittis interficerent, et pedites absque pauore lancearum et gladii, sagittis et gladiis et maceis ferreis occiderent. Cum autem per longa spacia campi essent diuisi, insidie Sarracenorum de latibulis proruperunt, milites et pedites in duas partes diuiserunt, ut nec isti illis, nec illi istis mutuo adiutorio adiuuarent.*

from the sergeants, so that, without fear of arrows [being shot at them in return], [the barbarians] might kill with arrows the knights separated from the foot soldiers, and, without fear of [the knights'] lances and swords, might kill the foot soldiers with arrows, swords, and iron maces. But when [the Christians] had been divided over a wide area of the field, the ambush of the Saracens burst forth from the flanks and split the knights and foot soldiers into two groups, so that neither could assist the other at all.²³⁷

Another noteworthy element of style is the author's frequent use of 'in + ablative' with a sense of movement more appropriate to 'in + accusative'; for example, in Chapter II, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 'sent messengers to all the lands subject to his rule' (*in omnibus terris eius dominatui subiacentibus misit legatos*), whereas the phrase 'in omnes terras' would have been, strictly speaking, more correct than 'in omnibus terris'.²³⁸ Medieval Latin grammar was often treated in a much more fluid manner than its classical predecessor, and what appear like morphological and syntactic errors to modern readers might often have made perfect sense to a medieval scribe (even when they were genuinely incorrect).²³⁹

The author makes reference to a wide variety of biblical books, particularly from the Old Testament. For example, the Christian armies' eastward march prior to the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn becomes an extended analogy for the Israelites' journey through the wilderness to Canaan in the Books of Exodus and Numbers.²⁴⁰ Just prior to the Turks' assault on the rearguard, Raymond counsels King Guy to cross quickly and avoid encamping in a dry 'dwelling place' (*mansio*). The same word is used in Exodus 17:1, 40:36, and Number 33:1 to denote places where the Israelites stopped on their exodus. When the Christians make camp, it becomes 'a dwelling place of turning away (*declinatio*) and thirst, where the leaders of Israel turned away out of a desire for water'. In the surrounding passages, the author plays upon the various meanings of *declinatio* and the related verb *declinare*: 'turning aside', 'turning away', 'shunning', 'turning the back', 'declining', 'lowering', 'going astray', and so on. The allusion is to Exodus 17:1–7, which describes how the thirsty Israelites complain to Moses about their lack of water, whereupon Moses and the leaders turn aside, and Moses, guided by the Lord, finds a rock, strikes it with his staff, and water comes out of it. When the Muslims ravage the army's encampments with fire, the author writes:

Oh, how wretched a rest after such a long way through the wilderness! Perhaps they did not remember the hand of God, with which he redeemed Israel from the power of the one who afflicted them. Certainly, the

²³⁷ See *Libellus*, c. IV.

²³⁸ See *Libellus*, c. II.

²³⁹ Frank A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg, *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington, D.C., 1996), pp. 83–9.

²⁴⁰ See *Libellus*, c. XI.

redemption of captives stood in the midst of the people, namely the salvation-bearing tree, on which hung a bronze serpent so that it might free those looking upon [it] from the bites of the venomous snake. Perhaps they did not look back, but nor did they think carefully, since the dark night of faithlessness had captured their faith, and the blindness of envy had hardened [their] hearts.²⁴¹

In this passage, the author makes use of Psalm 77:42–3: ‘They remembered not his hand in the day that he redeemed them from the hand of him that afflicted them, how he wrought his signs in Egypt and his wonders in the field of Tanis.’ Here, the Psalm refers to Pharaoh, who ‘afflicted’ the Israelites before their Exodus. By extension, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the sultan of Egypt, is a new Pharaoh afflicting the Christians at Ḥaṭṭīn. The venomous snake and the bronze serpent allude to Numbers 21:4–9, which describes God’s punishment of the Israelites for their lack of faith. According to the passage, when the Israelites complained of hunger and thirst, and questioned the wisdom of the journey, God set fiery serpents upon them, and many died. When the Israelites repented, Moses prayed to God, who instructed him to make a bronze serpent, which he did. Anyone who was bitten and then looked on the bronze serpent was healed. In medieval exegesis, this was regarded as a prefiguration of Christ’s crucifixion and the salvation that it enabled, reflecting John 3:14–15, where Christ tells the Pharisee Nicodemus that the Son of Man should be exalted just as Moses exalted the serpent in the desert. Consequently, the ‘redemption of captives’ is the relic of the True Cross itself, reflecting a tradition going back at least to the pseudo-Gregorian *Liber responsalis siue antiphonarius*: ‘O wonderful Cross, on whose branches hung the treasure and redemption of captives.’²⁴² The hymn *Laudes crucis attollamus*, attributed to Adam of St Victor († c. 1146), refers to the cross as *arbor salutifera*, literally ‘the tree that bears salvation’.²⁴³ The implication of all of this is that the author attributes the loss at Ḥaṭṭīn to the faithlessness of the Christian armies, when they should have been looking at the bronze serpent (that is, the Cross), which was itself lost in the battle.

The capture of the True Cross seems to have struck a particularly painful chord with the author of the *Libellus*, as it did with many contemporary Christians. After describing how Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s forces overran the Christian

²⁴¹ *Libellus*, c. XI: *Certe stabat redemptio captiuorum in medio populi, arbor scilicet salutifera, in qua suspensus est serpens eneus, ut a morsibus uenenati serpentis respicientes liberaret. Forsitan non respiciebant, sed neque considerabant, quoniam obscura nox infidelitatis eorum captiuauerat fidem, et cecitas inuidie obdurauerat mentem.*

²⁴² Pseudo-Gregory, *Liber responsalis siue antiphonarius*, in *PL*, vol. 78, col. 803B: *O crux admirabilis, in cuius ramis pependit thesaurus et redemptio captiuorum.*

²⁴³ Adam of St Victor, *Laudes crucis attollamus*, in *PL*, vol. 196, col. 1485A.

army, he launches into an elaborate and heartfelt digression on the misfortune of the cherished relic:

Woe is me! Should I say with unclean lips how the precious Cross of the Lord of our redemption was touched by the damned hands of the damned? Woe to wretched me, that in the days of my wretched life I am forced to see such things! And also woe to the sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, through whom the faith of all Christians is profaned, and for whom Christ is forced to be whipped and crucified once more. Oh, dear and sweet Cross, dripping with and bathed in the blood of the Son of God! O nourishing Cross, on which our salvation hung, through which both the bond of death was erased and the life that was lost in the first man was recovered! Why should I live any longer, now that the wood of life has been taken away? And, truly, I believe that it has been taken, since the faith of the Cross of the Son has vanished—because it is impossible to please God without faith. Woe to us wretched ones who have lost our armour because of our sins. The Cross of our salvation has been taken away, the worthy [thing] carried off unworthily by the unworthy—oh, alas! It is no wonder that they lost the physical substance of the Holy Cross by the strength of visible enemies: they had lost it spiritually long before in mind and spirit, failing in good works of righteousness.²⁴⁴

Having previously focused his exegetical lens on the bronze serpent of Moses as an archetype of the Cross, the author now directs the gaze of his readers to the apex of the object's role in sacred history. The violent yet redemptive image of Christ's blood-stained corpse hanging upon the Cross anchors the entire passage. Far from regarding the crucifixion as an event fixed firmly in the biblical past, however, the author sees the disaster at Ḥaṭṭīn as nothing less than a re-enactment of the cataclysmic moment when 'the bond of death was erased and the life that was lost in the first

²⁴⁴ *Libellus, c. XIV: Heu mihi! Dicam pollutis labiis qualiter preciosum lignum dominicum nostre redemptionis tactum sit dampnatis manibus dampnatorum? Ve mihi misero, quod in diebus misere uite mee talia cogor uidere! Ve autem et genti peccatrici, populo graui iniquitate, per quem omnium christianorum fides blasphematur, et pro quibus Christus iterum cogitur flagellari et crucifigi. O dulce lignum et suaue, sanguine filii dei roratum atque lauatum! O crux alma, in qua salus nostra pependit, per quam et cirographum mortis deletum est, et uita in protoplasto perdita recuperata est. Quo mihi adhuc est uiuere, ligno uite sublato? Et uere credo sublato esse, quoniam fides filii crucis euanuit, quia impossibile est sine fide placere deo. Ve nobis miseris qui armaturam nostram, peccatis exigentibus amisimus. Sublatum igitur lignum est nostre salutis, dignum ab indignis, indigne heu heu asportatum. Nec mirum si corporalem sancte crucis substantiam fortitudine uisibilium inimicorum amiserunt, quam iam dudum spiritualiter bonis operibus iusticie deficientibus mente et spiritu perdiderant.*

man was recovered'. Yet this was no consolatory reiteration of Christ's original death, with its profound soteriological implications; this was an abhorrent and devastating recurrence of only the most disgraceful elements of the Passion.

The notion that the loss of the Cross amounted to a second and far less glorious crucifixion was not unique to the *Libellus*. Henri de Marcy († 1189), cardinal bishop of Albano and former abbot of Cîteaux, foregrounded the same idea in the exhortatory treatise that he composed to rouse support for the Third Crusade.²⁴⁵ In this sense, the *Libellus* simply reflects a prominent interpretive trend at the time. But mourning the loss of the relic was only constructive insofar as it could help to spark enthusiasm for its recovery. To that end, the author of the *Libellus* advocated an ultimately optimistic response based on firm spiritual loyalty to the Cross, in a passage that may be regarded as one of the text's few unequivocal appeals to an audience:

Lament over this, all you worshippers of the Cross, and wail, and paint the True Cross in your hearts with honest and unshaken faith, and be strengthened in hope, since the Cross does not forsake those who trust in it [Judith 13:17] unless it is first forsaken itself.²⁴⁶

This is the closest that the author comes in the text to explicitly recruiting crusaders. Just as preachers like Henri espoused a concept of crusading spirituality rooted in the idea of the imitation of Christ (*imitatio Christi*) and embodied in the sign that crusaders stitched onto their garments, the author of the *Libellus* expected faithful 'worshippers of the Cross' (*adoratores crucis*) to bear the symbol in their own hearts and remain steadfast in their faith. Though undeniably despondent, his reflections on the capture of the Cross at Haṭṭīn encouraged contemporary worshippers of the relic to entertain at least a sliver of hope.

Other allusions are more complex and obscure. For example, in Chapter XXIII, just prior to the capitulation of Jerusalem, the author

²⁴⁵ Henri de Marcy, *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, in *PL*, vol. 204, cols 251–402 (here, col. 354): 'Do we not see in these things that Christ has come to be crucified again? Clearly, he who was once crucified by the Jews has come to be crucified once more by the heathens.' (*Nunquid non in his videtur venisse Christus iterum crucifigi? venit plane denuo crucifigendus ab ethnicis, qui semel crucifixus fuerat a Judaeis?*) See also Henri de Marcy, *Ex quo vox illa turturis*, in *PL*, vol. 204, cols 249–52 (here, col. 250): For why would [God] permit the wood of the Cross to be carried off by the heathens if not to be crucified by them again?' (*Quomodo enim asportari permetteret lignum Crucis ab ethnicis, nisi iterum crucifigendus ab eis?*)

²⁴⁶ *Libellus*, c. XIV: *Plangite super hoc omnes adoratores crucis et plorate, atque ueram crucem in cordibus uestris recta fide et inconcussa pingite, et confortamini in spe, quoniam crux non deserit sperantes in se, nisi prius ipsa deseratur.*

laments using the first person: ‘Woe to me, wretched and worse than all sinners, that I did not take up my portion of the Holy Land with such a measuring line (*funiculo mensurationis*)!’²⁴⁷ This refers in the first instance to Zechariah 2:1–2, where the prophet, predicting that God will ultimately have mercy on Jerusalem, says: ‘And I lifted up my eyes and saw, and behold: a man with a measuring line (*funiculus mensorum*) in his hand. And I said, “Whither goest thou?” And he said to me, “To measure Jerusalem and to see how great is the breadth thereof and how great the length thereof.”’ In his *Commentariorum in Zachariam prophetam*, the twelfth-century exegete Rupert of Deutz interprets the man bearing this measuring line as Christ, who will measure the dimensions of the heavenly Jerusalem. Furthermore, Rupert explains the ‘length’ of the heavenly Jerusalem as ‘faith unto death’ and its ‘breadth’ as ‘love unto death’, citing John 15:13: ‘Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends.’²⁴⁸ The image of the measuring line or ‘cord’ (*funiculus*) is also used in the Bible to describe the apportioning of inheritances and the demarcation of boundaries, as in Deuteronomy 32:9, Joshua 19:9, 1 Chronicles 16:18, and Psalm 104:11. The main point here is that the author regrets not obtaining his own portion of spiritual inheritance in the heavenly Jerusalem with the same ‘measuring line’ (*funiculus mensurationis*) as that drawn out (metaphorically) for those who died during the siege.

The author’s discussion of certain place names also has an exegetical gloss. This is garnered from Jerome’s *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*. In Chapter V, while lamenting the death of Roger des Moulins, the author writes:

Daughters of Galilee and Nazareth (that is, of ‘transmigration’ and ‘cleanness’), take up lamentation, since the lover of chastity and cleanness has departed into Cana of Galilee (that is, into the ‘heaven of transmigration’), so that he might make a peace offering to you, Jerusalem (that is, the ‘vision of peace’).²⁴⁹

In the Old Testament, ‘transmigration’ (*transmigratio*) has the sense of ‘captivity’ or ‘being carried away’, in reference to the Jewish captivity

²⁴⁷ *Libellus*, c. XXIII: *Ve mihi misero omnibusque peccatoribus deteriori quod portionem meam terre sancte, tali funiculo mensurationis non accepi.*

²⁴⁸ Rupert of Deutz, *Commentariorum in Zachariam prophetam*, in *PL*, vol. 168, col. 711B–712B.

²⁴⁹ *Libellus*, c. V: *Filie Galilee et Nazareth, id est, transmirationis et mundicie, assumite planctum, quia amator castitatis et mundicie ut uos Ierusalem, id est, uisioni pacis, pacificaret, in Cana Galilee, id est, in celo transmirationis, migravit.* The translations of the place names derive from Jerome, *Liber interpretationis*, pp. 140 (Galilee), 137 (Nazareth), 136 (Jerusalem; see also Ezekiel 13:16).

in Babylon. In keeping with this, the author of the *Libellus* conveys the word's fundamental sense of 'movement from one place to another'. Note that Jerome translates Cana on its own as 'possession or possessed', with an alternative spelling, *Cenna*, defined as 'one who loves jealously' (*zelotes*).²⁵⁰ The notion of Cana as signifying 'zeal' or 'jealousy' became established in the Latin exegetical tradition. In his homily on the second Sunday after Epiphany, for example, Bede discusses the wedding 'in Cana of Galilee, that is, in the zeal of transmigration' (*in Cana Galilaeae, id est, in zelo transmigratonis*), where Christ turned water into wine (John 2:1–11).²⁵¹ In a derivative commentary on the Gospel of John attributed spuriously to Bede, this phrase has become 'in the heaven of transmigration' (*in coelo transmigratonis*), as in the *Libellus*.²⁵² The twelfth-century *Liber deflorationum sive excerptionum* ascribed to Werner of St Blasien (St Blaise) likewise notes that 'the wedding took place in Cana of Galilee, in the heaven of transmigration (*in coelo transmigratonis*), because they are worthy of Christ who by the fervour of their devotion depart from vices to virtues, from earth to heaven.'²⁵³ Having just depicted Roger des Moulins as a victor over his own vices, the author logically draws attention to his departure (*transmigratio*) from earth into heaven as he sacrifices himself on behalf of Jerusalem, just as Christ sacrificed himself, 'making peace (*pacificans*) through the blood of his cross both as to the things that are on earth and the things that are in heaven' (Colossians 1:20). In Chapter XVII, the author writes: 'Other [Saracens] went up through the city of Nazareth (which is translated as 'flower' or 'cleanness') and stained the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary by spilling the blood of the Christians who had taken refuge there for protection.'²⁵⁴ The meaning of Nazareth as 'cleanness' contrasts the 'stain' of the Muslims' defilement of the church. 'Imād al-Dīn describes the emir Muzaffar al-Dīn Gökböri's enslavement of a group of Nazarene women, and then then waxes lyrical about their beauty in a lascivious tone that strongly hints that they were violated.'²⁵⁵ It is possible that our author heard about this while in Jerusalem, and that he is hinting at it in the other meaning of Nazareth as 'flower', along with specifying that it was the Church of the Virgin Mary.

²⁵⁰ Jerome, *Liber de nominibus*, pp. 142, 139.

²⁵¹ Bede, *Homilia XIII in dominica secunda post Epiphaniam*, in *PL*, vol. 94, col. 69A–B.

²⁵² *In S. Johannis Evangelium expositio*, in *PL*, vol. 92, col. 657A–B.

²⁵³ In *PL*, vol. 157, col. 819C–D: *In Cana Galilaeae, in coelo transmigratonis fiunt nuptiae, quia hi sunt digni Christo, qui fervore devotionis de vitiis ad virtutes, de terra ad coelos migrant.*

²⁵⁴ *Libellus*, c. XVII: *Alii quidem per ciuitatem Nazareth que interpretatur flos siue munditia ascenderunt, et ecclesiam beate uirginis Marie effundendo sanguinem christianorum qui inibi confugerant causa munitionis cruentauerunt.*

²⁵⁵ 'Imād al-Dīn, p. 34.

Probably the best example of our author's exegetical mode occurs in Chapter XXIV, when he condemns those who paid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to leave Jerusalem. The passage commences with a truncated quotation of Lamentations 1:1: 'The prophet Jeremiah laments among them, bewailing and recalling them from error (if that were possible), saying: "How doth the city sit solitary [that was] full of people?"', et cetera.' The full passage of Lamentations 1:1 reads: 'Aleph. How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people? How is the mistress of the nations become as a widow, the princess of the provinces made tributary?'²⁵⁶ Our author then plays upon this verse at length:

Five things are called to mind here, that is: 'sitting'; 'solitary'; 'full'; 'widow'; 'mistress'. The city sits judging unjust judgements [Daniel 13:53]. She sits in ashes in the pollution of her wickedness [Jonah 3:6, Luke 10:13]. For if she stood in the virtue of justice, she would certainly fight against the enemies of evil. But without the aid and protection of God, without true worshippers of Christ, forsaken by the love of God and neighbour, she is called 'solitary', whence Solomon [says]: 'Woe to him that is alone, for if he falleth, he hath none to lift him up' [Ecclesiastes 4:10]. 'Full of people', an evil, confused, and impenitent people, a people of grave evil, about whom Isaiah [says]: 'This people honours me with its lips, but their heart is far from me' [Isaiah 29:13]. A 'widow', however, is called to mind by priestly dignity and royal power; a widow, having lost the ring of faith; a widow, since she has lost the bond of her spouse, Christ, to the invading Saracens. And yet, she is called 'mistress', since all the tribes of the earth will be reduced beneath her dominion [Matthew 24:30].²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ This verse is also cited by Peter of Blois, *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, ll. 14–15, in R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), *Petri Blesensis tractatus duo*, in *CCCM*, vol. 194 (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 75–95, and Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, book 4, §5, Johann Martin Lappenberg (ed.) in *MGH, SS*, vol. 21 (Hanover, 1881), p. 169.

²⁵⁷ *Libellus*, c. XXIV: *Quinque hic commemorantur, scilicet: sessio, sola, plena, uidua, domina. Sedet autem ciuitas iudicans iuditia iniusta. Sedet in cinere et in sui sceleris pollutione. Nam si staret in uirtute equalitatis, pugnaret utique contra hostes iniquitatis. Sola autem dicitur sine auxilio et protectione dei, sine ueris Christi cultoribus, sola a dilectione dei et proximi. Vnde Salomon: 'Ve soli quia si ceciderit non habet subleuantem.'* *Plena populo, populo iniquo et tumultuante, et non penitente, populo graui iniquitate. De quo Ysaïas: 'Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me.'* *Vidua uero commemoratur a pontificali dignitate et regali potestate. Vidua, anulo fidei amisso. Vidua, quoniam cirographum sponsi sui Christi intrantibus Sarracenis amisit. Et tamen domina dicitur, quia omnes tribus terre sub eius potestate redigentur.* Note that Lamentations 1 was frequently used in the lamentations written in response to 1187: see Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, p. 166.

This passage speaks to our author's skill in the art of exegesis and presumably also homiletics, while evidencing a thorough knowledge of the Bible that allows him to play at will with multiple verses, each with their own contexts, to achieve his own independent narrative purpose. The key point of this particular passage is that the sinfulness of the Jerusalemites is to blame for the city's destruction, but that Jerusalem will rise again at the eschaton.

The biblical motif of the closed gates of Jerusalem also has a bearing on our author's eschatology. The motif brackets the text: in Chapter I, Sibylla closes the gates of Jerusalem, while the Muslims again close the gates of Jerusalem after its capitulation in Chapter XXV. This motif has a long history in crusading texts.²⁵⁸ In the *Libellus*, it may be an oblique allusion to Isaiah 60:11, where the prophet foretells the restoration of Jerusalem and the permanent opening of its gates following the destruction of the Gentiles, and Revelation 21:25, where the Evangelist sees the new Jerusalem descending from heaven, and says that its gates will not be shut by day, 'for there shall be no night there'. If so, the author implicitly contrasts the sinful Jerusalem of the Franks, with its gates closed by day, to the heavenly Jerusalem of scripture, with its gates open by day and by night.

Sylvia Schein, who has thoroughly examined the many lamentations written in response to the fall of Jerusalem, has shown that Old Testament references were common in such texts, possibly because Jerusalem itself receives greater focus in the Old Testament than the New. Despite the themes and references discussed above, the author does not use other common tropes. No explicit reference is made, for example, to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar c. 587 B.C.E. or Titus in 70 C.E., nor does our author use the most frequently-cited biblical reference, Psalm 78(79):1: 'O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance.'²⁵⁹ Like most responses to 1187, the *Libellus* carries a strong vein of *peccatis nostris exigentibus*. Our author assigns blame not to all Christians, as in *Audita tremendi* (Pope Gregory VIII's bull calling for the Third Crusade, issued on 29 October 1187), but particularly to the Christians of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, who are described as 'wicked Christians' who sold Jerusalem to 'the wicked' just like Judas sold Christ.²⁶⁰ These trends make the *Libellus* to some extent similar to other texts such as the lamentations of Henri de Marci and Peter of Blois, but what they lack compared to the *Libellus* is the eyewitness testimony that forms its basis. These lamentations, together with the many poems written in response to the fall of Jerusalem, speak to a spiritual 'coming to terms' with the loss of the city that was so central to the spiritual visions of twelfth-century Catholicism, and, as is to be expected, the clergy sought explanation from the biblical text with great outpourings of emotion.

²⁵⁸ Nicholas L. Paul, 'Porta clausa'.

²⁵⁹ Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, pp. 166–80.

²⁶⁰ See above, p. 43.

The continuation (Parts II and III)

Stylistically, the continuation appended to the original *Libellus* at Coggeshall represents a distinct contrast to Part I. This is unsurprising, given that Parts II and III derive from a very different text. The *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi* (*IP2*), usually attributed to Richard de Templo, is a monumental history of the Third Crusade—with a particular focus on the deeds of Richard I—that continues an earlier version of its opening book (*IP1*) through a Latin rendering of the vernacular *Estoire de la guerre sainte* by the Norman poet Ambroise. A copy of *IP2* had clearly come into the possession of the monks at Coggeshall before the continuation was compiled, perhaps for the first time in the Cleopatra manuscript (C). Its sheer size, however, would surely have presented a daunting hurdle to any potential copyist, so it is perhaps understandable that the continuation of the *Libellus* supplies only a sequential outline of Book I before ending with a perfunctory reference to the rest of *IP2* that derives from the opening lines of Book II.

The process by which the continuator assembled this outline is reasonably transparent. At its simplest, Part II of the *Libellus* is nothing more than a concatenation of excerpts from the titles and opening lines of Chapters IX–LXXXI of Book I of *IP2*.²⁶¹ Generally speaking, the continuator appropriates these passages almost verbatim. Some of them nevertheless feature minor cosmetic alterations that were obviously made to enhance the grammatical flow of the text and mask the jagged edges that inevitably arose from trying to weld together a coherent story from a series of quotations. For example, the continuator added appropriate conjunctions and temporal adverbs, changed tenses, or manipulated the case endings of particular words and phrases. The end result is a terse and rather impersonal narrative that leaves no room for the expansive digressions and emotive outbursts so characteristic of Part I.

On the whole, the continuator appears to have been reluctant to make any substantial changes to the content of the material he incorporated from *IP2*. The only significant difference occurs in his claim that ‘Count Henry of Champagne was put in charge of our army before the coming of King Philip and King Richard (he was the nephew of [both of] them—he was also elevated to king [of Jerusalem] shortly after)’.²⁶² The corresponding chapter title in *IP2* simply reads: ‘Count Henry of Champagne [was] put in charge of our army.’²⁶³ These comments are reminiscent of the notes

²⁶¹ The chapters of *IP2* (Book I) from which excerpts are not incorporated in the *Libellus* are: X–XV, XVIII–XXI, XXX, XXXII, XLI, L–LII, LVII, LIX, LXVIII–LXX.

²⁶² *Libellus*, c. XXVII: *Comes Henricus de Campania exercitui nostro preficitur ante aduentum regis Philippi, et regis Ricardi quorum nepos erat, qui etiam postmodum in regem sublimatus est*. Mayer, in *IP1*, p. 183 also noted this.

²⁶³ *IP2*, I.xliiii (p. 94): *Comes Henricus de Campania exercitui nostro praeficitur*.

made by a marginal hand on the opening folio of the *Libellus* in MS. C (fol. 2r), which clarifies that ‘the countess of Jaffa’ was ‘Sibylla by name, the daughter of King Amalric’. In the case of Henry of Champagne, neither version of the *Itinerarium* highlights the count’s familial connections to the kings of England and France at this point. The continuator of the *Libellus* was incorrect in his suggestion that Henry ‘was also elevated to king [of Jerusalem] shortly after’. Although the count went on to marry Isabella, the youngest child of King Amalric and half-sister of Sibylla and King Baldwin IV, on 5 May 1192, he was never crowned king. In his extant charters he is almost invariably styled as ‘Henry, count palatine of Troyes’ (*Henricus comes Trecensium palatinus*), and never referred to as ‘king of Jerusalem’.²⁶⁴ How, then, did the redactor come under the impression that Henry attained royal status?

If Willoughby is right that the *Libellus* was redacted and continued by Ralph of Coggeshall himself, then the *Chronicon Anglicanum* is a logical starting point to seek further evidence for the belief that Henry of Champagne became king of Jerusalem. Ralph mentions Henry on a few occasions, recording that he was the one ‘to whom King Richard also conceded that kingdom [of Jerusalem]’ and ‘whom King Richard had put in charge of the kingdom of Jerusalem’.²⁶⁵ This seems to indicate that Ralph believed that Henry had been made king, but nothing in his phrasing explicitly confirms this.

Roger of Howden, on the other hand, is more unequivocal about Henry’s role, stating in his *Chronica*: ‘After the murder of the aforesaid Conrad [of Montferrat in 1192], his wife [Isabella] married Henry, count of Champagne, the nephew of the king of England and the king of France; and immediately, by the common choice of the whole army, the aforesaid Henry was elected as king of the land of Jerusalem’.²⁶⁶ Since Ralph of Coggeshall seems to have had access to Roger’s *Chronica*, this might explain why, if he was the continuator of the *Libellus*, the latter text states that Henry ‘was elevated to king [of Jerusalem]’. It might also be significant that the continuation of the *Libellus* identifies Henry as nephew of both Philip and Richard as does Howden’s account. That being said, there is a strong chance that the continuator of the *Libellus*, who was evidently familiar with a copy of the *Itinerarium*, drew his conception of Henry’s royal status directly from its detailed account of the events following Conrad’s murder in the spring of 1192.

²⁶⁴ Mayer, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, pp. 972–73 (nos 568–*587).

²⁶⁵ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 35 and 72: *cui et rex Ricardus regnum illud concessit; quem rex Ricardus regno Hierosolymitano praefecerat.*

²⁶⁶ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 181: *Post interfectionem vero praedicti Conradi, uxor illius nupsit Henrico comiti de Campania, nepoti regis Angliae et regis Franciae; et statim, per communem totius exercitus electionem, praedictus Henricus est electus in regem terrae Jerosolimitanae.*

Logically, this should be considered alongside Ambroise's version of the narrative in his *Estoire de la guerre sainte*.

Describing the dispute over the lordship of Tyre and crown of Jerusalem that erupted after Conrad of Montferrat's death, Ambroise claims that, upon Henry of Champagne's arrival in the city, 'as soon as the people saw him they waited no longer, but elected him king, as God willed it'.²⁶⁷ This brief remark serves as an introduction to the extended account that comes next, with Ambroise explaining how the people 'came to him and took him and beseeched him and said that he should receive the kingdom and lordship of Syria'.²⁶⁸ In 'electing' Count Henry, 'the people' thus offered him both 'the lordship and the kingdom of Syria', and Henry duly sent messengers to his uncle, King Richard, to inform him that 'the people had chosen the count to be lord of the land [...] for the men of high and low estate had elected him as lord'.²⁶⁹ Upon hearing this news, Richard was pleased, proclaiming that 'I very much wish him to be king, if it pleases God, when the land is conquered'.²⁷⁰ Here Ambroise indicates that, at least in Richard's mind, Henry was only to assume royal status in the kingdom *after* it had been (presumably fully) taken back from the Muslims. In a similar vein, though without mentioning his nephew's assumption of specifically kingly power, Richard goes on to state that Henry should 'receive the lordship [...] and I will give him Acre for his own and the income from the harbour dues and Tyre and Jaffa and jurisdiction over all of the conquered land'.²⁷¹ Thus Ambroise's account is somewhat ambiguous, referring to the election of Henry as king even before his marriage to Isabella, but speaking for the most part in more general terms as if the count of Troyes was 'the heir to govern the land'.²⁷²

In *IP2*, the story plays out along similar lines. Much as in the *Estoire*, as soon as the squabbling French barons see Henry, 'without delay, as if he had been sent by God, they chose him as [their] prince and lord, and hurrying to him with all earnestness they began to beseech him that to receive

²⁶⁷ Ambroise, ll. 8931–34 (trans. Ailes and Barber, p. 152): *si tost com la gent le virent / onques plus terme n'atendirent, / einz l'orent a rei esleu / si com Deus l'ot porveu.*

²⁶⁸ Ambroise, ll. 8935–38 (trans. Ailes and Barber, p. 152): *vindrent a lui e le pristrent, / e li proierent e lui distrent / qu'il receust la seignorie / e le riaume de Sulie.*

²⁶⁹ Ambroise, ll. 8978–82 (trans. Ailes and Barber, p. 153): *li poeples l'aveit requis / qu'il fust sires de la terre [...] / car li petit e li greignor / l'orent esleu a seignor.*

²⁷⁰ Ambroise, ll. 8995–97 (trans. Ailes and Barber, p. 153): *mult le desir / qu'il seit reis al Deu plaisir, / quant la terre sera comquise.*

²⁷¹ Ambroise, ll. 9005–10 (trans. Ailes and Barber, p. 153): *receve la seignorie [...] / e jo li doins Acre en demaine, / e les rentes de la chaine, / e Sur e Jaffe e la justise / de tote la terre comquise.*

²⁷² Ambroise, l. 8945 (trans. Ailes and Barber, p. 152): *l'oir de gouverner la terre.*

the crown of the kingdom submissively and without any disagreement or excuse'.²⁷³ The messengers from Tyre come to inform King Richard 'of the election of Count Henry to receive the kingdom', and just as in Ambroise's version, the king is pleased to hear of his nephew's fortunes, remarking: 'I fully desire that, in accordance with God's will, he be put in charge of governing the kingdom, as soon as the land has been acquired.'²⁷⁴ As in the *Estoire*, Richard appears here to have set the reconquest of Jerusalem as the precondition for Henry's assumption of royal status, although he also notes, again like his vernacular counterpart: 'Let the count receive the kingdom; into his dominion I give the city of Acre as a perpetual possession, together with all its appurtenances, as well as Tyre and Jaffa, and the whole land to be sought for, with God's approval.'²⁷⁵ Furthermore, much like Howden, in his account of Henry's marriage to Isabella, the author of *IP2* observed that 'this same count was the nephew of both the king of France and [the king of] England', emphasising a connection which he gives as the reason why the two main conflicting parties (the French and the Angevins) were pleased with the union.²⁷⁶

It therefore seems that several chroniclers firmly believed Henry of Champagne had indeed been chosen as king of Jerusalem following the murder of Conrad of Montferrat in 1192, even though he was never actually crowned. The continuator of the *Libellus* could have shared this view on the basis of information obtained from the accounts of Roger of Howden and the *IP2*—or perhaps, though it is less likely, from Ambroise's *Estoire* itself. In the grand scheme of things, this was not a fundamentally important addition to the summary of *IP2* that comprises Part II of the *Libellus*. In fact, it must be said that the continuator's work displays a high degree of fidelity to *IP2* overall.

The only other notable change in the continuation is purely structural. By appending the purported epistolary exchange between Frederick Barbarossa and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Part III) rather than incorporating it into the narrative itself, the continuator displaced the two letters from their original location in *IP2* and implicitly framed them as something of an afterthought. Purely in terms of sequential logic, they sit outside the story

²⁷³ *IP2*, V.xxviii (pp. 342–43): *sine dilatione, tanquam a Deo missum, elegerunt in principem et dominum, et ad ipsum accedentes cum omni diligentia supplicare coeperunt, ut patienter sine omni contradictione et excusatione susciperet regni coronam.*

²⁷⁴ *IP2*, V.xxxiv (p. 347): *de electione comitis Henrici ad regnum suscipiendum ... admodum desidero ut ad Dei voluntatem regno praeficiatur gubernando, postquam terra erit prorsus acquisita.*

²⁷⁵ *IP2*, V.xxxiv (p. 347): *regnum vero comes suscipiat, cui dono in dominium civitatem Aconem in possessionem aeternam cum omnibus pertinentiis, Tyrum quoque et Joppen, et terram totam, Deo annuente, perquirendam.*

²⁷⁶ *IP2*, V.xxxv (p. 348): *idem comes nepos erat utriusque regis Franciae et Angliae.*

of both Part I and II of the *Libellus*, and the continuator at no point explicitly refers to them in a way that suggests they formed part of his own narrative schema. The rubrics that introduce the letters in the Cleopatra, Arundel, and Corpus Christi manuscripts are the only signposts included to help orient readers with regard to their content and relevance. Yet the fact that the second scribe of the Cleopatra manuscript wrote out Part III in his own hand without any obvious break and all subsequent medieval copyists of the text incorporated the letters into their own manuscripts indicates that this section was regarded as forming a core component of the extant *Libellus* as a whole.

Why the continuator deemed it necessary to add Parts II and III at all is a question that cannot be answered with certainty. As we have seen, the removal of the golden cross from the pinnacle of the Dome of the Rock in Chapter XXVI works as a resounding conclusion to Part I on both a symbolic and a thematic level, and the closing of the gates of Jerusalem in Chapter XXV aptly brings the narrative full circle. Yet the monks of Coggeshall evidently felt that the text warranted a continuation. We can only speculate on their precise reasons for this, but it is worth keeping in mind that wanting to attach an account (however compressed) of the Third Crusade was entirely natural at a time when the Cistercians were heavily involved in efforts to promote and lead crusades on various fronts in western Europe and the eastern Mediterranean.²⁷⁷ They may in fact have seen the revised and expanded *Libellus* as their own modest contribution to the crusading cause in the early thirteenth century. Precisely when the text was compiled in its current form is unclear, but discussion of the work in its manuscript context is a crucial prerequisite to any effort to narrow down a date.

Manuscripts

*London, British Library, Cotton MS. Cleopatra B. I,
fols 2r–23r [C] (Coggeshall, s. xiii^m)*

This is the oldest extant copy of the *Libellus*. Willoughby has argued convincingly that it was produced in the scriptorium at Coggeshall in the early thirteenth century.²⁷⁸ The *Libellus* is written in two main hands. The first scribe copied the text down to the foot of fol. 18r, which concludes Chapter XXVI (*De precipitacione auree crucis*); the second scribe began writing at the head of fol. 18v and copied the remainder of the *Libellus* down to the end of Şalāh

²⁷⁷ The Cistercians were especially prominent in the anti-heretical crusades in the south of what is now France: see Beverly M. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229* (York, 2001).

²⁷⁸ Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle', pp. 127–29.

al-Dīn's alleged reply to Frederick Barbarossa on fol. 23r. Aside from a series of marginal and in-text chapter titles in red ink and several large initials in the same colour, the manuscript is unadorned.²⁷⁹

As it stands, the manuscript is clearly a composite of texts that were removed from various medieval codices and rebound, probably in the Cotton library.²⁸⁰ The *Libellus* appears especially incongruous in the broader context of this manuscript. Most of the texts in the volume focus on either hagiographical or devotional themes. Although spiritual concerns are central to the *Libellus*, it is not a *vita*, a prayer, or a devotional handbook (except, perhaps, in a very loose sense). None of the other texts display any of the palaeographical or codicological characteristics associated with Coggleshall manuscripts, and it seems highly unlikely that the extant manuscript reflects the original order or context of these works.

Contents

fol. 1r	Early modern table of contents. ²⁸¹
fol. 2r	<i>Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum.</i>
fol. 24r	<i>Vita sancti Edmundi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.</i>
fol. 32r	<i>Vita Gilberti de Sempringham.</i>
fol. 171r	Verses on and prayers for King Henry V.
fol. 177r	Pseudo-Bonaventura, <i>Meditationes vitae Christi</i> (fragment).

History, script, and date

It is difficult to say much of substance about the history of this manuscript. Nothing is recorded of its ownership or provenance prior to its inclusion in the Cotton library. The sequential folio numbers written in brown ink in the upper right-hand corner of each recto were presumably added after the various texts were bound together; more recently, these have been crossed out and replaced by a new pagination written in pencil in the lower right-hand corner of each recto.²⁸² All five of the main texts preserved in the manuscript were clearly copied by different scribes, at different times, and in different scriptoria. The only text that has any bearing on the present discussion is the copy of the *Libellus* on fols 2r–23r.

²⁷⁹ For the large red initials, see fol. 2r (*Q*); fol. 5r (*A*); fol. 11v (*H*); fol. 14v (*V*); fol. 18v (*C*); fol. 21r (*F*); fol. 22r (*J*). Most of these appear to mark subsections of the text. There is a much smaller red initial at fol. 17r, l. 20 (*F*).

²⁸⁰ See the catalogue entry on the British Library's Digitised Manuscripts website: <www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Cleopatra_B_I> [accessed 20 June 2018].

²⁸¹ This table describes the *Libellus* as 'Belli sacri Historiola Baldwini pueri regis morte id est 1184 ad Hierosolimas amissas'.

²⁸² This edition follows the latter pagination.

One of the first things worth noting about this copy is that the opening folio is quite maculated, creased, and worn. Though still legible, it must either have seen a great deal of use or become more exposed to the elements than the other surviving manuscripts that belonged to or were produced at Coggeshall, which tend to have opening folios in much better condition.²⁸³ This raises the possibility that the *Libellus* constituted the opening work in its original manuscript context, as is the case in A and V.²⁸⁴ At the very least, the relative isolation of the *Libellus* in C demonstrates that it had become detached or was forcibly removed from its original binding before being rebound in the Cotton library. Christoph Egger's suggestion that this copy of the *Libellus* may once have formed part of the series of historiographical texts preserved in Cotton Vespasian D. X has much to recommend it in this respect.²⁸⁵

Palaeographical considerations lend even further weight to the argument. As Willoughby observes, there is a clear change of hand and authorial voice between fol. 18r and fol. 18v (see **Figures 1 and 2**).²⁸⁶ This is evident not only in the aspect of the second hand, but also in the changing form of the Tironian note. Whereas the first scribe almost exclusively used the crossed Tironian *et* with a diagonal minim and a rather wavy trailing head-stroke, the second scribe employed a variety of different forms, favouring the uncrossed Tironian *et* with a bend in the minim and a pointed foot.²⁸⁷ He also used a much browner ink.²⁸⁸ All of this suggests that the second scribe was working from a different exemplar than his predecessor.

²⁸³ These manuscripts are: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 31 (s. xiii); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 54 (c. 1175–1199); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 89 (s. xiii); Cambridge, University Library, li.2.25 (s. xiii^m); London, British Library, Cotton MS. Vespasian D. X, fols 4r–131v (s. xiii^m); London, British Library, Royal MS. 5 B. IX (s. xiii); London, British Library, Royal MS. 6 D. VI (s. xiii^m); London, College of Arms, MS. Arundel XI (s. xiii^m); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 15076 (s. xiii^m; after 1216); San Marino (California), Huntingdon Library, MS. HM 27186 (s. xiii^{ex}–xiv). See David N. Bell (ed.), *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 3 (London, 1992), pp. 13–14; Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn (London, 1964), pp. 52–3; Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle'.

²⁸⁴ See below, pp. 81–90.

²⁸⁵ Egger, 'A Pope without Successor', p. 152; as noted in Kane, 'Wolf's hair', p. 97, n. 13.

²⁸⁶ Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle', p. 127.

²⁸⁷ The crossed Tironian symbol for *et* became increasingly prevalent in manuscripts as the thirteenth century progressed: Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (London, 1990), p. 84.

²⁸⁸ Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle', p. 127.

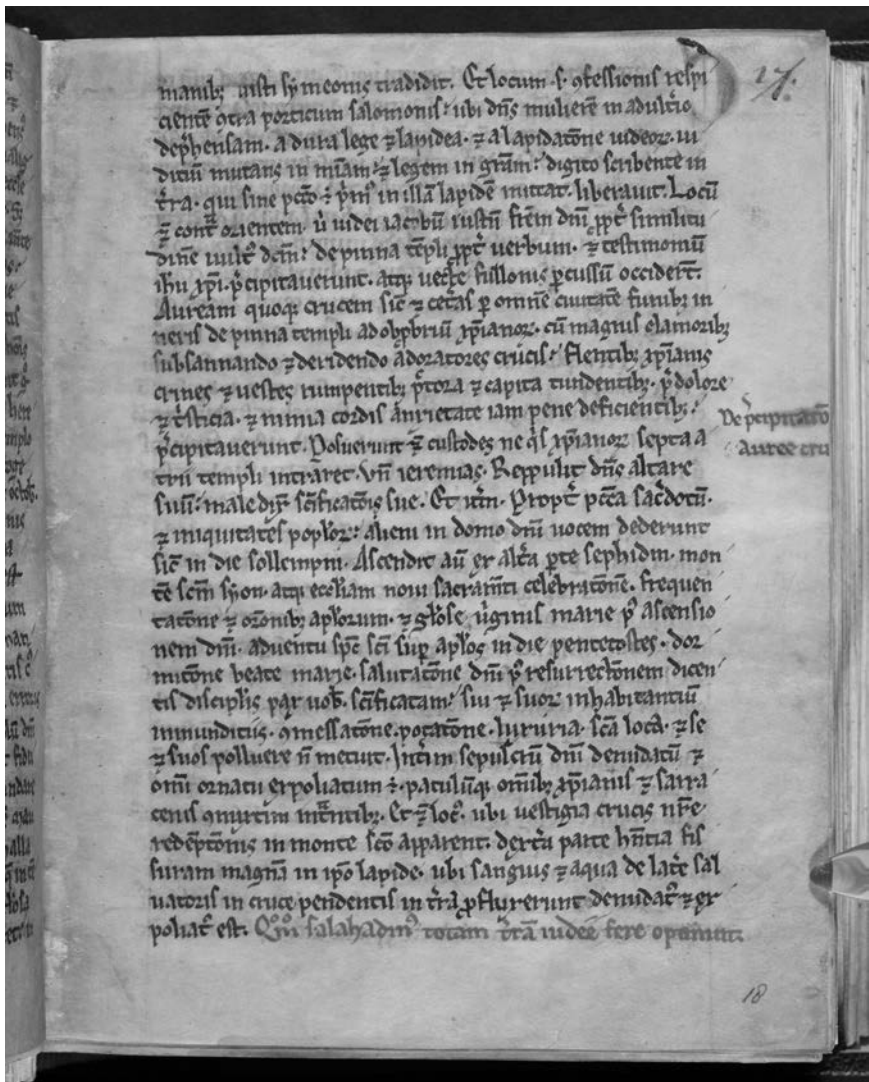


Figure 1 Hand 1 on fol. 18r of MS. C of the *Libellus*, the final page of Part I.
Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

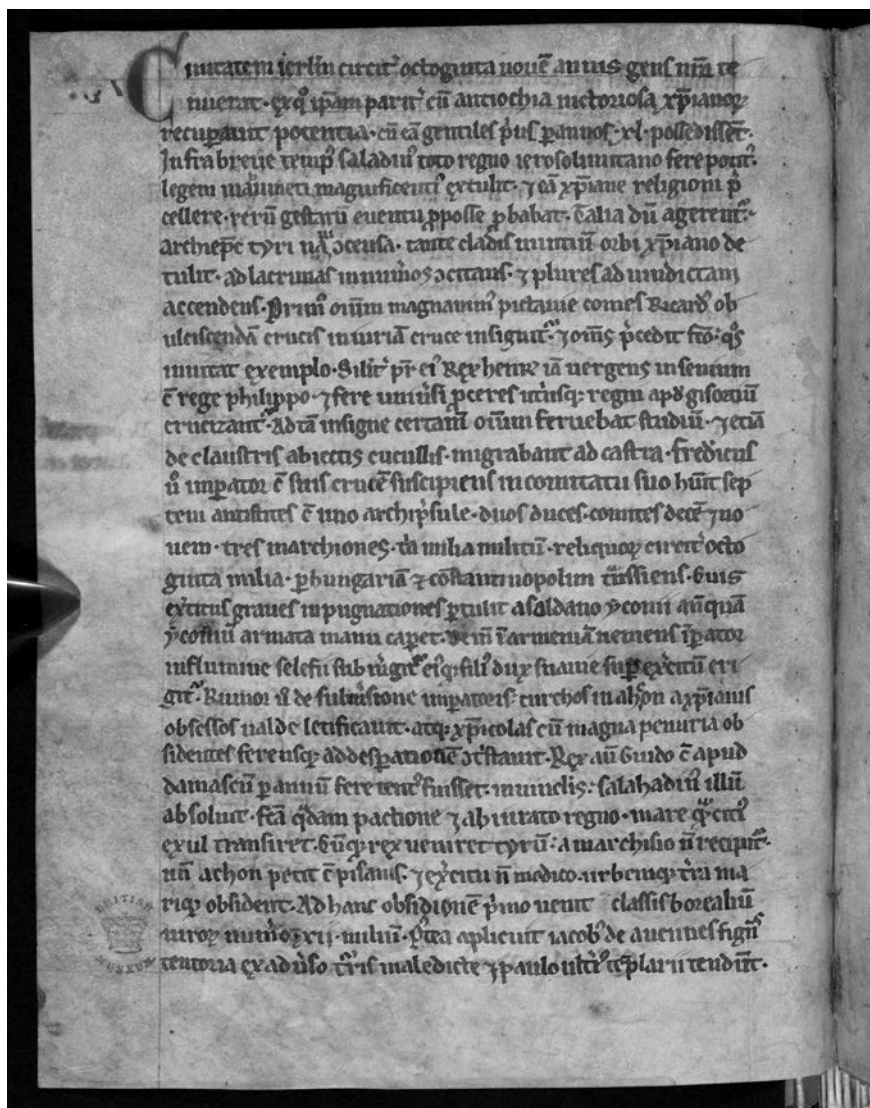


Figure 2 Hand 2 on fol. 18v of MS. C of the *Libellus*, the first page of Part II. Note that the hand is quite different to Hand 1. The ink has also changed.

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After close inspection of the manuscripts, we believe that the second scribe in C was also responsible for writing fols 110r–111v of Ralph of Coggeshall’s *Chronicon Anglicanum* in its ‘autograph’ manuscript, Cotton Vespasian D. X (see **Figure 3**).²⁸⁹ Taken together with the practice of ruling 31 long lines per page throughout the manuscript, this clinches the identification of Coggeshall as the house where the earliest copy of the *Libellus* was produced.²⁹⁰ Firm evidence of Hand 1 outside Cotton Cleopatra B. I has so far proven elusive, but the overall aspect is similar enough to other extant Coggeshall hands to suggest that the scribe was at work in the same scriptorium.²⁹¹

Precisely when this manuscript was copied is impossible to determine. That it stands earlier in the tradition than the other medieval witnesses is shown by the simple fact that the three marginal additions entered on fol. 2r are all carried over into the text in A, V, and P.²⁹² The same goes for most of the other interlineations and marginalia throughout, though there are some exceptions.²⁹³ Nor do the other three manuscripts undergo any change of hand between Parts One and Two of the text. C must therefore be the ancestor of the other extant manuscripts of the *Libellus*.

The manuscript was clearly revised soon after it was copied—perhaps even before the scribe of Hand 2 took over at fol. 18v. Though the marginal annotation regarding King Baldwin V’s position in the sequence of the rulers of Jerusalem is brief (and mutilated due to trimming), it is similar to Hand 1 in its aspect and ductus.²⁹⁴ The scribe himself may well have added it upon realising or remembering that the annals in Ralph of Coggeshall’s own *Chronicon Anglicanum* describe Godfrey of Bouillon as the original king of Jerusalem, thus making Baldwin V the ‘eighth’ ruler.²⁹⁵ If so, however, it is unclear why he did not simply expunctuate or cross out the word *septimo* and then interline *octauo*. In any case, the annotation sheds light on the editorial forces at work in the Coggeshall scriptorium.

²⁸⁹ See London, British Library, Cotton MS. Vespasian D. X, fols 110r–111v. A complete digitised copy of this manuscript may be consulted at: <www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Cleopatra_B_I>.

²⁹⁰ Willoughby, ‘A Templar chronicle’, p. 129.

²⁹¹ As noted below, p. 86, the hand of the second scribe of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* in V (fols 74r–78v) is similar in many respects to both Hand 1 in C and the hand of the main scribe of the *Chronicon* in the Vespasian manuscript.

²⁹² These additions, the first two of which have been damaged as a result of trimming, are: *immo oct <auo>* (‘or more correctly, the eighth’), *et dominum suum gw <idonem> de lizenan comi <tem> iopensem regem f <ecerunt>* (‘and [they] made king her lord [husband], Guy de Lusignan, the count of Jaffa’), and *sibillam nomine filiam regis almerici* (‘Sibylla by name, the daughter of King Amalric’).

²⁹³ See below, pp. 72–6, 82–5, 87–90, 92–3.

²⁹⁴ Particularly noteworthy is the slightly concave headstroke of *o* in *oct <auo>*. This occurs frequently in Hand 1, and also seems to be present in the second two marginal notes (in *iopensem* and *nomine*).

²⁹⁵ See above, p. 27.

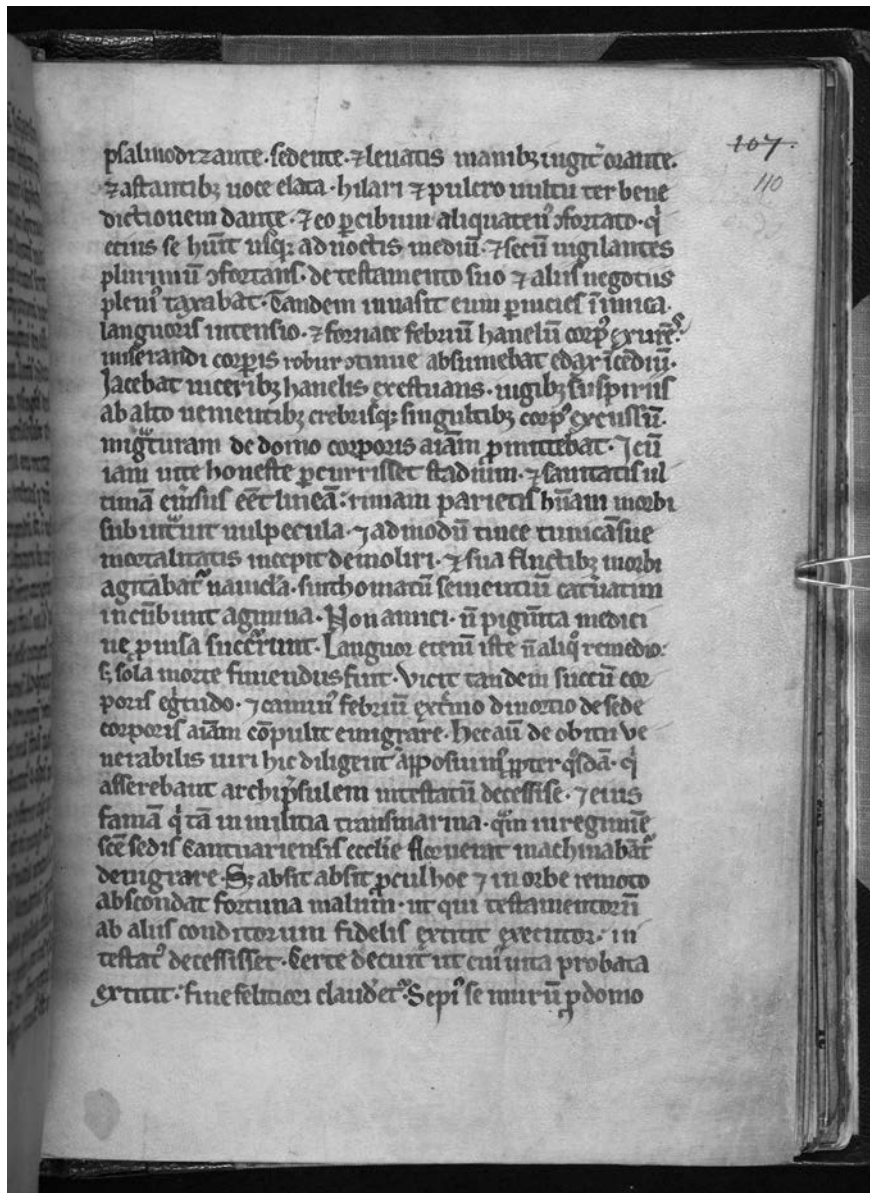


Figure 3 fol. 110r of Cotton Vespasian D. X, the autograph manuscript of Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*. We believe that this is the same hand as that of Part II of the *Libellus* in MS. C (see Figure 2).

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The following two annotations, perhaps by a different scribe, represent a more substantial and less erroneous intervention in the text, identifying the countess of Jaffa as Sibylla and noting the election of her husband, Guy de Lusignan, as king of Jerusalem.²⁹⁶ Whether these notes were present in the exemplar of C is an interesting question. It is not too difficult to imagine Sibylla's name being excluded from the original text, given the anonymous author's evident disinterest in specifying the dramatis personae of his narrative. If so, the addition that identifies her as the daughter of King Amalric may be nothing more than a subtle display of historical knowledge by the monks at Coggeshall, much like the earlier note on Baldwin V. One could nevertheless argue that it serves an important purpose in the text by alerting the reader (however gently) to the genealogical basis of Sibylla's claim to royal power. Moreover, it is hard to see how the logic of the narrative could function without the marginal comment that 'they made king her lord husband, Guy de Lusignan, the count of Jaffa', for only two sentences later, the author describes how people sided with either 'the king' (Guy) or 'the count of Tripoli' (Raymond III) and drove the kingdom to the brink of civil war. The note on Guy's coronation thus seems likely to have come from the exemplar copied by the scribe of Hand 1, though it is also possible that the original text was simply defective at this point.

Most of the other additions to the text down to fol. 18r are relatively inconsequential. Some, such as the repeated marginal glosses identifying the 'king of Syria' or 'king of Babylon' as Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, are clearly extraneous.²⁹⁷ One is downright incorrect: on fol. 13v, a scribe whose hand bears some resemblance to the second two annotations on fol. 2r wrote 'Bethlehem' (*bellehem*) in the margin in order to clarify the location of a Hospitaller garrison that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was attempting to persuade to surrender in September 1187. But Bethlehem never housed such a garrison, and it is obvious that the annotator was misled by the prominence of the town in the next chapter of the *Libellus* (*De destructione Bethleem et de obsidione Ierusalem*), which begins a few lines below.²⁹⁸ Rather, the garrison being referred to was Bait Jibrīn,

²⁹⁶ The question of whether one or more different scribes supplied the second two marginal notes on fol. 2r cannot be resolved here. Some distinct features nevertheless invite comment. For example, in both cases where the word *regem* appears, the initial *r* has quite a low descender that bears some resemblance to the old *r* of Insular minuscule. This is not a form that the scribe of Hand 1 appears to have used. Similarly, the rather tall uncrossed Tironian *et* that introduces the second note is distinct from the symbol used throughout the main body of the text. The marginal comment also seems to bear little resemblance to Hand 2.

²⁹⁷ These have all been damaged by trimming in some way: see fols 12r (*i. sala <dinus>*), 15v (*<.i.> saladinus*), 16v (*<.i.> saladinum*). There is a trace of a very similar note above the rubric '*De expugnatione ascalonis*' on fol. 12v.

²⁹⁸ See *Libellus*, c. XXI, c. XXII.

the subject of discussion some lines earlier. This suggests that the annotator lacked acute knowledge of the geography and military disposition of the twelfth-century Kingdom of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, the numerous interlineations, marginal notes, and editorial signs (for example, words marked for transposition with double or triple virgules) in Part I demonstrate that at least two scribes, and possibly three or more, were involved in revising C before or perhaps while it was being copied by the scribes of A and V.

The continuation (fols 18v–23r) shows significantly fewer signs of editorial intervention. It is almost entirely free of marginal and interlinear notes, although virgules are again used to mark words and phrases for transposition, as in Part I. On fol. 2r and at various other points in Part I, an unknown scribe or annotator has underlined certain proper names, titles, ethnic labels, and key phrases using either lead or very dark ink.²⁹⁹ The absence of this practice from the continuation suggests that it may well have formed part of the editorial process undertaken before the scribe of Hand 2 took over. The continuation has its own unique features, however. For example, there is a series of long, diagonal, scratch-like marks in the right-hand margin of fol. 21r whose meaning is unclear; these do not appear anywhere else in the manuscript. Moreover, the rulings and prickings in the inner margin of each page are much more consistently noticeable from fol. 18v to fol. 23r than they are in the previous section of the text. Exactly what this suggests is difficult to determine. On the one hand, it could mean that Part II was copied substantially later than Part I, when practices in the scriptorium at Coggeshall had changed somewhat. On the other, it may simply indicate that a new group of monks was responsible for the preparation and copying of Part II. The latter idea is more convincing, given that it seems unlikely that the third gathering in the manuscript, of which fol. 18 was the opening leaf, would have been left barren for an extended period of time.³⁰⁰

There was evidently some kind of hiatus before the scribe of Hand 2 began his work. Part I of the text ends at the very beginning of the final

²⁹⁹ Words and phrases underlined or partially underlined on fol. 2r: *baldewino puero* (ll. 4–5); *septimo* (l. 5); *Princeps scilicet sacerdotum et magister milicie templi* (ll. 6–7); *reginaldvs princeps montis regalis* (ll. 7–8); *iopensis* (ll. 8–9); *comite tripolitano* (l. 16); *saladinus* (l. 23); *turci* (l. 29); *cordini* (l. 30); *siri* (l. 30); *arabes* (l. 30); *alani* (l. 30); *caffechaki* (l. 30); *beduini* (l. 31); *sarraceni* (l. 31); *egiptii* (l. 31). See also *rex syrie* (fol. 5r, l. 28) and *erarium regis anglie* (fol. 5v, ll. 10–11).

³⁰⁰ The gatherings are as follows: 2r–9v; 10r–17v; 18r–23v. In the top left-hand corner of fols 9v and 17v there is a mark of some kind comprising several (perhaps four) marks or dots in brown ink. This may indicate the end of a quire, though it is unclear whether it was contemporaneous with the copying of the manuscript or added in the Cotton library. There are similar markings to the left of the initial C on fol. 18v, where a very small red dot seems to signal where the initial was to be drawn (and perhaps where the scribe of Hand 2 was to begin writing).

line on fol. 18r, and it is clear that the scribe of Hand 1 intentionally left the rest of the line blank.³⁰¹ Was this space always intended for the rubric that now occupies the line and serves as a de facto title for Part II?³⁰² As was standard in the division of labour for many medieval manuscripts, the scribes of the *Libellus* and the rubricator were not one and the same.³⁰³ But the rubricator was undoubtedly a Coggeshall scribe, for the rubrics in C appear to have been entered by the same scribe or scribes responsible for those in Cotton Vespasian D. X. As a general rule, in C these rubrics are entered in the margins, though there are five exceptions, including the title that marks the divide between Parts I and II.³⁰⁴ It must be said, however, that all instances of in-text rubrics in C immediately precede the chapter they introduce. The rubric at the end of Part I is the only example of a title separated from its chapter by a break between pages. On balance, then, it seems likely that Hand 2 picked up soon after Hand 1, while the rubric was entered in the remaining space on fol. 18r so that it would not have to be written in an abnormal position in the unruled space above the first line on fol. 18v. On this basis, it is probable that the rubricator did his work after the writing of Part II.

The identification of Hand 2 with that of the scribe who wrote fols 110r–111v of Cotton Vespasian D. X might help shed some light on the date of C if the period of the scribe's activity could be fixed with any certainty. The whole issue, however, is complicated by several factors that are not easy to disentangle.

Cotton Vespasian D. X is the earliest extant copy of the *Chronicon Anglicanum*. It almost certainly represents either Ralph's 'autograph' or a manuscript (or manuscripts) very close to it. One of several clear changes of hand in the manuscript occurs between fols 109v and 110r, in the middle of Ralph's annal for the year 1205.³⁰⁵ The second scribe is identical with the scribe of Hand 2 in C; Willoughby has argued that the hand of the first scribe probably represents that of Ralph of Coggeshall himself, and that it evinces various changes over time.³⁰⁶ Scholars are generally

³⁰¹ Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle', p. 127, with n. 15.

³⁰² See fol. 18r, l. 31: *Quomodo Salahadinus totam terram Iudee fere optinuit*.

³⁰³ Simple orthographical differences demonstrate this: for example, *Saladinus* (main text) v. *Salahadinus* (rubrics and Part II); *Accaron* or *Accon* v. *Achon* or *Achonensis*; *Sefidin* v. *Saphadinus*; *Belleem* v. *Bethleem*.

³⁰⁴ See fols 5r, l. 26: *De adunatione duorum exercituum*; 11v, l. 22: *De captione urbis Achon*; 18r, l. 31: *Quomodo Salahadinus totam terram Iudee fere optinuit*; 21r, l. 18: *Epistola Frederici imperatoris ad Salahadinum*; and 22r, l. 7: *Epistola Salahadini ad Fredericum imperatorem*.

³⁰⁵ See Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 158, n. 1.

³⁰⁶ James Willoughby, 'The Hand of Ralph of Coggeshall: Chronicle-Making in the Reign of King John', unpublished John Coffin Memorial Annual Palaeography Lecture (Senate House, London: 7 May 2014). We are grateful to Dr Willoughby for generously supplying us with a copy of his lecture and allowing us to cite his ideas.

in agreement that Ralph was compiling his *Chronicon* either contemporaneously with or soon after the events he recorded in this period as information became available to him.³⁰⁷ If so, then he probably compiled his annal for 1205 in that year or shortly afterwards. David Carpenter has suggested that ‘this 1202–5 section was composed between 1205 and 1207, the incentive to begin writing being provided by the death of Hubert Walter in 1205’.³⁰⁸ Why, however, did the first scribe (possibly Ralph himself) abruptly cease writing this entry at the foot of fol. 109v and hand over to another scribe on fol. 110r? The answer may lie (at least in part) in the history of fol. 112.

As it stands, fol. 112 is a later insertion.³⁰⁹ In the 2014 John Coffin Memorial Annual Palaeography Lecture, Willoughby showed convincingly that the annals preserved on this leaf represent an altered version of the original entries for the years 1206 to 1212.³¹⁰ He also argued that the large, irregular, and somewhat tremulous hand that wrote these annals belonged to an elderly and perhaps increasingly infirm Ralph of Coggeshall.³¹¹ Though understandably circumspect in his conclusions, Willoughby suggested that Ralph deliberately expurgated the original annals for 1206–1212 because of their hostility to King John. In Willoughby’s view, this process of textual expurgation probably took place in 1226 or 1227.³¹² Given that the removal of (presumably) several folios must have affected the pre-existing text on the surrounding leaves, the expurgation itself may have necessitated the change of hand between fol. 109v and fol. 110r. As Carpenter observes: ‘It is possible that these two folios are also insertions [like fol. 112], perhaps because the two original folios for 1205 were damaged when the text for 1206 to 1212 was removed and substitutes had to be provided.’³¹³ If this were indeed the case, then one could argue that the scribe of fols 110r–111v supplied the remainder of the annal for 1205 when the expurgation was made in 1226 or 1227. The fact that fol. 112 is stuck to the stub of the first folio of a new quire

³⁰⁷ For discussion of this problem, see David A. Carpenter, ‘Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall’s Account of the Last Years of the Last Years of King Richard and the First Years of King John’, *The English Historical Review*, vol. 113, no. 454 (1998), pp. 1210–1230; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 323–5; Hartcher, ‘Ralph of Coggeshall’s *Chronicon Anglicanum*’, pp. 104–88.

³⁰⁸ Carpenter, ‘Ralph of Coggeshall’s Account’, p. 1228.

³⁰⁹ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 323, n. 23; Carpenter, ‘Ralph of Coggeshall’s Account’, pp. 1213–14.

³¹⁰ Willoughby, ‘The Hand of Ralph of Coggeshall’; see also Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 323–24, n. 23.

³¹¹ Willoughby, ‘The Hand of Ralph of Coggeshall’.

³¹² Willoughby, ‘The Hand of Ralph of Coggeshall’.

³¹³ Carpenter, ‘Ralph of Coggeshall’s Account’, p. 1228, n. 1.

nevertheless weighs slightly against Carpenter's suggestion, for this indicates that only fol. 111 is likely to have been inserted.³¹⁴

Another piece of dating evidence that seems quite compelling at first glance is that the second scribe in C encouraged readers of the *Libellus* who were interested in further details about the Third Crusade to 'read the book that the lord prior of Holy Trinity, London had translated from the French tongue into Latin in a style as elegant as [it is] truthful' (*legat librum quem dominus prior sancte Trinitatis Londoniis ex gallica lingua in latinum tam eleganti quam ueraci stilo transferri fecit*).³¹⁵ This, of course, was the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, long regarded as the work of Richard de Templo, who was elected prior over the canons of Holy Trinity, Aldgate on 16 July 1222.³¹⁶ King Henry III (r. 1216–1272) confirmed his election on 24 October 1222.³¹⁷ Richard's election would therefore seem to provide a firm *terminus post quem* for the completion of the extant *Libellus*.³¹⁸ The fact that most medieval and early modern references to the *Itinerarium* ascribe it to 'Richard the canon' does not necessarily vitiate this conclusion.³¹⁹ Richard may well have composed the work while he was a canon and disseminated it upon becoming prior. While the recommendation to the reader constitutes the earliest evidence of the reception of the *Itinerarium*, it is striking that the continuator of the *Libellus* does not explicitly name the prior of Holy Trinity. He also states that the prior in question 'had [the *Itinerarium*] translated' (*transferri fecit*), which raises the possibility that he did not translate it himself. This leads to the perfectly plausible suggestion that Richard de

³¹⁴ We are grateful to James Willoughby for explaining this in private correspondence (dated 10 June 2018). In 'The Hand of Ralph of Coggeshall', Willoughby argues against the collation outlined in Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 323, n. 23, that is, 'that the [gathering] to which folio 12 [*recte* 112] belongs had at least eight leaves, the first four of which are now missing (folio [112] is pasted to the stub of the fourth leaf of the gathering)'. In contrast, Willoughby contends that 'only the first leaf of the original quire is intact, and this singleton has been stuck to its stub. So four leaves cannot have been excised ... Quite clearly any number of discrete quires could have been removed following the excision of the rest of this initial quire.'

³¹⁵ *Libellus*, c. XXVII.

³¹⁶ On the authorship and date of *IP2*, see Mayer (ed.), *IP1*, pp. 89–102, 104–6; Marie Louise Bulst, review of Mayer (ed.), *IP1*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 198 (1964), pp. 380–87; Hans E. Mayer, 'Zum *Itinerarium peregrinorum*', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. 20 (1964), pp. 210–21; Bulst, 'Noch einmal das *Itinerarium peregrinorum*', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. 21 (1965), pp. 593–606; Mayer, 'Zur Verfasserfrage des *Itinerarium peregrinorum*', *Classica et Mediaevalia*, vol. 26 (1965 [1967]), pp. 279–92; Nicholson (trans.), *IP2*, pp. 6–14.

³¹⁷ Thomas Duffus Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli litterarum clausurarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, 2 vols (London, 1833–1844), vol. 1, p. 515.

³¹⁸ Kane, 'Wolf's hair', p. 108.

³¹⁹ See Mayer in *IP1*, pp. 89–94; Stubbs in *IP2*, pp. lxvi–lxix.

Templo composed the *Itinerarium* under the auspices of Peter of Cornwall (1197–1221), who was prior of the Holy Trinity while Richard was canon, and who was a learned and prolific author in his own right.³²⁰ 1222 is therefore an insecure *terminus post quem* for C and, by extension, the other two early witnesses, A and V.

The Vespasian manuscript, then, does not appear to be of decisive use in helping to narrow down the possible dates of scribal activity in C. The only other factor that needs to be taken into account in this respect is that Ralph incorporated excerpts from the *Libellus* into the entry for 1187 in the *Chronicon Anglicanum*.³²¹ Consequently, the palaeography of this section of the Vespasian manuscript should have some bearing on questions surrounding the date of the *Libellus*. The problem here is that the original annal for 1187 was clearly replaced at a later date. As Carpenter has noted, the primary hand of the Vespasian manuscript carries the text of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* down to the end of fol. 51v, halfway through the entry for 1181.³²² A different scribe, writing in very dark ink with a thick nib, then took over at the beginning of fol. 52r and copied the next four pages down to the end of line 2 on fol. 54r.³²³ His contribution to these folios ended with the completion of the annal for 1188; the entry for 1189 is in the hand of the main scribe once more.³²⁴

The brief but significant incursion of this much larger hand, which exhibits several features of a more developed *textualis* that are lacking in the proto-gothic main hand, begs the question: does the section from fol. 52r to line 2 of fol. 54r preserve the contents of the annals for the period 1181–1188 as they originally stood in the Vespasian manuscript? It seems very unlikely that these annals have been preserved unaltered here. Carpenter, at any rate, explicitly identifies this section as an addition to the manuscript.³²⁵ Any other conclusion would appear to be ruled out by the fact that the scribe had to erase the original two opening lines of fol. 54r and allow his writing to spill out into the right-hand margin in order to accommodate the end of the annal for 1188. Material has clearly been added—but when, and why?

Carpenter contends that this entire addition to the manuscript was ‘probably made after 1204 judging from the reference to Philip Augustus as

³²⁰ We owe this point to James Willoughby, again in private correspondence (dated 10 June 2018); Mayer (ed.), *IP1*, p. 106 comes to the same conclusion. On Peter of Cornwall, see Richard W. Hunt, ‘English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 19 (1936), pp. 19–42, especially pp. 33–5, 38–42 (cited by Mayer (ed.), *IP1*, p. 94, n. 79).

³²¹ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 21–3.

³²² Carpenter, ‘Ralph of Coggeshall’s Account’, p. 1214, n. 3.

³²³ The first two lines of fol. 54r appear to have been written over an erasure.

³²⁴ This hand resumes at fol. 54r, l. 3.

³²⁵ Carpenter, ‘Ralph of Coggeshall’s Account’, p. 1214, n. 3. Willoughby has indicated support for this argument in private correspondence (dated 10 June 2018).

victoriosissimus rex' at fol. 52r, l. 1.³²⁶ Though perhaps debatable, this point rests upon the assumption that no English scribe would have been likely to refer to the French king in this way before his acquisition of Normandy along with the bulk of John's continental holdings in the campaigns of 1202–1204.³²⁷ If so, then 'c. 1204' is a possible *terminus ante quem* for the composition of Part I of the *Libellus*, which must have existed in some form before excerpts from it were incorporated under 1187 on fols 52r–53r of the Vespasian manuscript. These passages may, of course, already have been adopted when the original entry for 1187 was first written down, presumably by the main hand and at an earlier date (perhaps in the early 1190s), but it is impossible not to wonder if the acquisition of a copy of the *Libellus* at Coggeshall was what prompted the scribe of the extant annals for 1181–1188 to begin his work in the first place. The acquisition of a copy of Roger of Howden's *Chronica* may also have provided a stimulus in this respect.

As it stands, the annal for 1187 is far longer and more substantial than any of the previous entries in the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, which opens with a brief summary of the Battle of Hastings and its aftermath in 1066.³²⁸ The quantitative and qualitative shift at this precise point in the narrative lends weight to the assertion on fol. 112r—probably written in Ralph of Coggeshall's own hand—that Ralph's contribution to the *Chronicon* covered the period 'from the capture of the Holy Cross [i.e. 1187] as far as the eleventh year of King Henry III, the son of King John [i.e. 1227]' (*a captione Sanctae Crucis usque ad annum undecimum Henrici regis III., filii regis Johannis*).³²⁹ Seemingly by his own admission, then, Ralph was responsible for the entry for 1187. We know from the complex nature of the Vespasian manuscript that he and the scribes working under his direction during his abbacy were keen editors of the *Chronicon*, so it is reasonable to suggest that the apparent point of departure for Ralph's own work on the text could have been subjected to the same revisions and alterations as other sections of the manuscript. The question is what the changes to this annal may have involved. Since the bulk of the entry comprises amalgamated excerpts from both the *Libellus* and Roger of Howden's account of the disasters of 1187 in his *Chronica*, it is easy enough to suggest that the original annal may have been much

³²⁶ Carpenter, 'Ralph of Coggeshall's Account', p. 1214, n. 3.

³²⁷ See Jim Bradbury, *Philip Augustus, King of France 1180–1223* (Milton Park, 1998), ch. 5; David A. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066–1284* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 263–299.

³²⁸ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 1 (under the year 1066). For discussion of the annals for 1066–1186, see Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order*, pp. 182–86.

³²⁹ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 163. See Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 322–23; Hartcher, 'Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*', p. 93; Carpenter, 'Ralph of Coggeshall's Account', pp. 1213–14; Willoughby, 'The Hand of Ralph of Coggeshall'.

shorter, perhaps containing a brief note on the loss of the True Cross and the fall of Jerusalem followed by the obits that round off the extant entry.³³⁰ Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that all of the material from the *Libellus* and Roger's *Chronica* was added in one go at a subsequent stage. That the scribe of fol. 52r to line 2 of fol. 54r incorporated only one set of excerpts is conceivable, but if so, it is perhaps more likely that this was the material from Roger of Howden, whose *Chronica* does not appear to have been completed until 1201 or 1202.³³¹ In any case, it appears probable that the annals for 1181–1188 were revised in the opening decade of the thirteenth century.

Searching on palaeographical grounds for a more precise date for the copy of the *Libellus* preserved in C raises numerous intriguing questions, but ultimately offers no firm answers. All that can be said with reasonable confidence is that Part I of the *Libellus* probably existed in some form before c. 1204, the earliest possible date for the hand of the extant annal for 1187 in the Vespasian manuscript. Furthermore, if 'the lord prior of Holy Trinity, London' referred to on fol. 21r of C was indeed Richard de Templo, then Part II of the text must post-date 24 October 1222, when his election was confirmed. But the prior in question may well have been Peter of Cornwall instead, thus leaving open the possibility that Part II of the *Libellus* was composed in the late 1210s, or perhaps even earlier.³³² One thing, at least, is certain: regardless of its date, C was undoubtedly copied before the other extant thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Libellus*, A and V, both of which used it as an exemplar.

*London, College of Arms, Arundel MS. XI, fols 1r–15v [A]
(Coggeshall, s. xiii^m)*

This is another early manuscript of the *Libellus*. Willoughby has argued that it stands very close in time to both the copy of the *Libellus* in C and the collection of historical texts in Cotton Vespasian D. X.³³³ The text is laid out in two columns, which vary in length from page to page. The hand is a good deal smaller than those in C. Although relatively unadorned, the manuscript features several colourful initials. Most of these are written in red ink, though three, like certain initials in the Vespasian manuscript, are

³³⁰ On these sources, see Appendix 1.

³³¹ See David Corner, 'The Earliest Surviving Manuscripts of Roger of Howden's *Chronica*', *English Historical Review*, vol. 98 (1983), pp. 297–310.

³³² Scholarly consensus holds that *IP2* was written between 1216 and 1222: see Mayer (ed.), *IP1*, p. 106; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 239; Nicholson (trans.), *IP2*, pp. 10–12. If this is so, then the extant *Libellus* must post-date 1216. But the evidence typically adduced in favour of 1216–1222 as the period when *IP2* was composed is far from thoroughly convincing. Further work on this problem is needed.

³³³ Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle', pp. 128–29.

in green. Not all of them have direct counterparts in C.³³⁴ The manuscript has suffered some worm damage over time, and many of the rubrics have been mutilated due to trimming (as in C).

Unlike C and (as we will see) V, A is not a composite. The various texts that it preserves share a common historiographical focus and an interest in past events. Since the scribes of A seem to have used C and the Vespasian manuscript as exemplars of the *Libellus* and the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, respectively, it is tempting to argue that A reflects the contents of an original historical compilation made at Coggeshall that comprised texts from both of the extant manuscripts. This question would surely repay further investigation.

*Contents*³³⁵

fol. 1r	<i>Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum.</i>
fol. 15v	<i>De ducibus Normannie et regibus Anglie.</i>
fol. 17r	Ralph Niger, <i>Chronicon</i> , with continuation attributed to Ralph of Coggeshall.
fol. 40v	Ralph of Coggeshall, <i>Chronicon breue.</i>
fol. 44v	Digression on the Emperor Justinian.
fol. 45r	<i>Epitome</i> of Ralph of Coggeshall, <i>Chronicon Anglicanum.</i>
fol. 51v	Ralph of Coggeshall, <i>Chronicon Anglicanum.</i>
fol. 109r	Miscellaneous short texts in French and Latin.

History, script, and date

An ownership inscription on fol. 1r in the hand of the aristocratic antiquary Lord William Howard (1563–1640), dated 1589 and accompanied by a sketch of Howard’s lion in the lower margin, makes it clear that this manuscript belonged to his library in the late sixteenth century.³³⁶ In the upper margin of the same page, another early modern hand, possibly that of Thomas Tanner (1674–1735), who was a ‘diligent scrutinizer’ of the manuscript, has written: *Cronicon terre sancte a Radulpho Coggeshale*

³³⁴ For the large red initials, see fol. 1ra (*Q*); fol. 7va (*H*); fol. 8ra (*D*), with no counterpart in C; fol. 9va (*U*); fol. 14rb (*F*). For the large green initials, see fol. 3ra (*A*); fol. 12rb (*C*); fol. 14vb (*I*).

³³⁵ This list draws on William H. Black, *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the Library of the College of Arms*, unpublished (London, 1829), pp. 17–18.

³³⁶ Egger, ‘A Pope without Successor’, p. 149, who notes that A subsequently ‘passed into the library of [Howard’s] nephew, Thomas Howard’ (1585–1646). On Howard and his antiquarian pursuits, see Richard Ovenden and Stuart Handley, ‘Howard, Lord William (1563–1640), antiquary and landowner’, *ODNB*. His nephew possessed an extensive library of his own that may have contained more than 3,000 volumes: see R. Malcolm Smuts, ‘Howard, Thomas, fourteenth earl of Arundel, fourth earl of Surrey, and first earl of Norfolk’, *ODNB*.

*Cisterciensi monacho compositum. Bale: foll. (sic) 275.*³³⁷ This attribution was evidently made on the basis of Bale's identification of Ralph of Coggeshall as the author of the *Libellus*.

There are two systems of pagination in the manuscript: one in the upper right-hand corner of each recto, beginning with the number 1 on fol. 1r, and another in the lower right-hand corner of each recto, beginning with the number 3 on fol. 1r. The latter system presumably dates from the period when the manuscript belonged to Howard, or perhaps even earlier, while the former was probably added in the Library of the College of Arms. The binding is undoubtedly modern, and it is interesting to observe the prominent and rather elaborate '4' written above the large red initial (*Q*) that introduces the text. This number could be a relic from an earlier binding system in which the *Libellus* constituted the fourth text in the manuscript.

Even though A does not follow the standard Coggeshall layout of approximately 31 long lines per page, Willoughby has demonstrated that it was probably produced in the abbey's scriptorium soon after or perhaps even alongside C, V, and Cotton Vespasian D. X.³³⁸ The clearest evidence of this is the fact that not all of the marginal additions and interlineations in C have been carried into the text in A. On fol. 2r, for example, the phrase *omnem timorem*, of which the second word was entered in the margin of fol. 4r of C in a very small supplementary hand, extends well into the margin. The marginal note *uermes* on fol. 7r is also marginal in C (fol. 11r); similarly, *omnibus* is marginal in both manuscripts.³³⁹

Manuscript A contains numerous indications of the copying and editorial processes that lay behind its compilation. On the whole, the scribe was quite careless. He was prone to simple grammatical and orthographical errors and responsible for several omissions. While he corrected some of these mistakes himself, at least two or three other scribes also reviewed his work and supplied necessary corrections either between the lines or in the margins. Some of the corrections in Parts II and III of the text are significant. On fol. 13r, for example, a different scribe writing in much browner ink was forced to insert nearly an entire sentence that the main scribe had missed, probably due to homeoteleuton.³⁴⁰ A similar supplement was added in the margin on fol. 14r by either the main scribe or one with an almost identical hand, who chose to mark the insertion with a very

³³⁷ Tanner's interest in the manuscript is noted in Black, *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts*, p. 18.

³³⁸ Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle', p. 129; Egger, 'A Pope without Successor', pp. 149–50.

³³⁹ See C, fol. 16v; A, fol. 10vb. Note that *-ciorum* (from *bisanciorum*), which is marginal immediately above *omnibus* in C, fol. 16v, has been carried over into the text in A.

³⁴⁰ A, fol. 13rb: *qui nulla diligenc <ia> potuit extingui <.> Sic infelici casu.*

distinctive signe-de-renvoi: a red circle surrounded by a ring of dots in dark ink.³⁴¹ Yet another scribe writing in light brown ink added one final supplement on fol. 15v at the very end of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's letter to Barbarossa.³⁴²

One striking feature of this copy of the *Libellus* is the presence of both a quire numeral and catchword at the foot of fol. 8v.³⁴³ The numeral clearly reads 'i.', demonstrating that folios 1 to 8 represent the first gathering in the manuscript. Though such numerals (and the accompanying catchwords) could often be copied absent-mindedly from exemplars, the change in layout from long lines to columns would suggest that, in this case, the first quire really did end here.³⁴⁴ Whether this was originally the first quire of the *Libellus* itself or the first quire of the entire compilation is unclear.

In any case, the whole text was copied by one scribe who saw no need to indicate any kind of break between Part I and the continuation. The hand only changes at the very end of the text, when a new scribe whose hand has a broader and slightly squarer aspect takes over and begins the next text in the manuscript, that is, *De ducibus Normannie et regibus Anglie*.³⁴⁵ The main scribe of the *Libellus* also appears to have been responsible for the majority of the rubrics (if not all of them). Most of these are written in the margins, as in C, though four are entered in the text itself.³⁴⁶ In a notable change from C, three of the rubrics in A are written in green ink rather than red.³⁴⁷

Nothing is known of the history of A between the early thirteenth century and its acquisition by William Howard. That the manuscript was read again at some point in the Middle Ages is clear from a marginal note on fol. 11r, where a distinct hand of the fourteenth or perhaps even fifteenth century has written *Trenos Jeremi(ae)* alongside the quotation from Lamentations 1:1 in Chapter XXIV that the author of the *Libellus* explores

³⁴¹ A, fol. 14ra: *transmittere uoluit. Baldewinus archiepiscopus uidens et audiens exercitum*. This constitutes just over one line in C (fol. 20v, l. 12); it was almost certainly missed as a result of homeoteleuton.

³⁴² A, fol. 15va: *ueridici uerbi comptoris, uexilli ueritatis, correctoris*. The immediate context makes it easy to see how the main scribe could have missed this fragment in C, featuring as it does in a run of genitive nouns and adjectives that all end in *-i* or *-is*. The annotator who added this to A, or a scribe with a very similar hand, also wrote *octogesimo* just above it, in the margin alongside .lxxxiii^o.

³⁴³ The catchword, *qualem*, anticipates *qualem et Ierusalem* on the first line of fol. 9r.

³⁴⁴ On quire numerals and catchwords, see Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, 2007), pp. 49–50.

³⁴⁵ See fol. 15vb.

³⁴⁶ These are: *De adunatione duorum exercitum* (fol. 3ra, l. 34); *Qvomodo salahadinus totam terram iudee fere optinuit* (fol. 12rb, ll. 28–9); *Epistola frederici inperatoris ad saladinum* (fol. 14rb, ll. 26–7); *Epistola salahadini ad fredericum imperatorem* (fol. 14vb, ll. 30–1).

³⁴⁷ These are: *De mirabili pugna duorum militum* (fol. 2v); *De adunatione duorum exercitum* (fol. 3ra, l. 34); *De ligno dominifico] ad bellum allato*.

in some exegetical detail.³⁴⁸ The text attracted the interest of further annotators once it came into Howard's collection. For example, at the three points where the *Libellus* explicitly states year numbers according to the standard dating system employed in thirteenth-century Latin, an early modern hand (possibly Tanner's) has entered those numbers in the corresponding Hindu-Arabic numerals in the margin.³⁴⁹ A similar annotator—again, perhaps Tanner, based on a general resemblance to the title and authorial attribution added at the head of fol. 1r—has added comments of a more substantial nature in the margins at various points. Alongside the mention of Ralph of Hauterive, archdeacon of Colchester, on fol. 13v, the annotator repeats the archdeacon's name and refers the reader to fol. 62 of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* in the same manuscript.³⁵⁰ The reference to 'the prior of Holy Trinity in London' on the facing page prompted the same (or a very similar) annotator to identify him in the margin as 'Richard the Canon, prior of Holy Trinity, London' (*Ricardus Canonicus prior sancte trinitatis london*).³⁵¹ Furthermore, for fairly obvious reasons, another early modern annotator—possibly Howard himself—wrote *nota* just to the left of the author's curious reference to the arrow in his nose.³⁵²

**Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 15076, fols 1r–22v [V]
(Coggeshall, s. xiii [after 1216])**

This is the third extant manuscript of the *Libellus* to have been copied at Coggeshall in the early thirteenth century.³⁵³ The text was written out in 31 to 32 long lines across the page by a single scribe whose hand cannot be identified with either of those in C or the single hand in A. Unlike in C and A, there are no rubrics, and spaces have been left for large initials at various points throughout the text, with only occasional cue initials to guide another scribe who never seems to have completed his work.³⁵⁴

The manuscript is a composite, like the other two surviving Coggeshall copies of the *Libellus*, but it is similar to C in lacking a unifying theme. The various texts preserved in the manuscript were evidently copied at various places over several centuries before being bound together in the later Middle Ages.

³⁴⁸ See fol. 11rb, ll. 21–4.

³⁴⁹ See fols 3r ('1187'), 8v ('1187'), and 14r ('1191').

³⁵⁰ On Ralph, see *Libellus*, c. XXVII.

³⁵¹ See fol. 14r.

³⁵² See fol. 10r.

³⁵³ Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle', pp. 128–29. A complete digitised copy of this manuscript may be consulted at: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9066689n/fl.item>>

³⁵⁴ Spaces with the following cue initials appear on fols 1r (*q* from *Quantis*), 4v (*a* from *Anno*), 11r (*h* from *Hiis*), 21v (*I* from *Illi*). Spaces alone are left on fols 14r (for *V*), 16v (for *F*), 17v (for *C*), 20r (*F*).

INTRODUCTION

Contents

pastedown	(fragment) <i>Digest</i> of Justinian.
fol. ir	Ownership inscription and shelfmark.
fol. iir	Table of contents and shelfmarks.
fol. 1r	<i>Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum</i> .
fol. 22v	Ralph of Coggeshall, <i>Chronicon Anglicanum</i> (partial copy down to 1216).
fol. 80r	<i>Passio s. Juliani Viennensis</i> .
fol. 88r	<i>Vita s. Brendani</i> .
fol. 101v	<i>De quodam monacho qui dum cantaret missa uidit ihesum stantem</i> .
fol. 103r	Vegetius, <i>Liber de re militari</i> .
fol. 168r	Miscellaneous notes in Latin.

History, script, and date

Dating the individual texts preserved in this composite manuscript is straightforward enough in broad terms.³⁵⁵ The *Libellus* was copied in the early thirteenth century, and certainly after 1216, since that is where V's copy of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* ends. The next two texts, the *Passio s. Juliani Viennensis* and the *Vita s. Brendani*, were each written out by a different twelfth-century scribe. The vision of the monk who saw Jesus while singing Mass is by a different scribe again, perhaps of the late twelfth century or the early thirteenth. Finally, the copy of Vegetius' *De re militari* that completes the manuscript was written in the fourteenth century. Given that all of the other texts bound together with the *Libellus* and the *Chronicon Anglicanum* were clearly produced at scriptoria outside Coggeshall, the following discussion will not focus on them.

It is very likely that both the *Libellus* and what Willoughby has called V's 'partial, amalgamated copy' of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* were copied at Coggeshall itself around the same time as the corresponding texts in C and A.³⁵⁶ Two main scribes appear to have been responsible for copying both works. The first scribe copied all of the *Libellus* and the bulk of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* down to fol. 73v; the second, whose hand is similar in some respects to both Hand 1 in C and the primary hand in Vespasian D. X, carried the text down to the end of fol. 78v. As in A, the *Libellus* was evidently copied from C, whereas Willoughby has shown that V's copy of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* derives immediately from the 'autograph' in the

³⁵⁵ On the likely date range for each text, see the catalogue notes attached to the digitised manuscript in the online database of the Bibliothèque nationale de France: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9066689n/f1.item>> [accessed 22 June 2018].

³⁵⁶ Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle', pp. 128–29; Egger, 'A Pope without Successor', p. 150; Carpenter, 'Ralph of Coggeshall's Account', p. 1213, n. 1.

Vespasian manuscript. Because they have some bearing on the date of the first 78 leaves of the manuscript, the structure and content of this copy of the *Chronicon* deserve closer consideration.

As Willoughby has made very clear, the main scribe of the *Libellus* and the *Chronicon Anglicanum* in V was using the earliest extant copy of Ralph's text in Cotton Vespasian D. X as an exemplar. He explains:

The Paris manuscript shows an amalgamated, partial copy of Ralph's chronicle with the [*Libellus*]. Evidence that it too was made at Coggeshall is communicated by a scribal blunder in Ralph's chronicle which shows that the copy descends directly from the Vespasian manuscript: on fol. 46^r (*s.a.* 1192) the scribe copied the passage on King Richard's capture of a desert train, ending 'ciuitatibus collocans', and passed directly to the passage beginning 'Rege autem apud Ptolomaidem', overlooking an intervening passage which is an interleaved addition to the Vespasian manuscript; he quickly spotted his mistake and cancelled the eight lines he had written with the comment 'uacat' before proceeding with the transcription of the material contained in the interfoliation.³⁵⁷

This kind of 'blunder' is in fact characteristic of the rather piecemeal copy of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* that survives in this manuscript. The chronicle 'begins' immediately after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's letter on fol. 22v with the annal for 1213.³⁵⁸ This initial section concludes on fol. 29r, barely eight lines into the account of King John's death that comprises the final substantial episode in the relatively long annal for 1216.³⁵⁹ Without any apparent hiatus, the scribe then copied six undated stories about various *mirabilia*, the heresy of the *Publicani*, and the piety of Alpais of Cudot (fols 29r–33v); all of these occur after the annal for 1200 in the Vespasian manuscript.³⁶⁰ The very first section

³⁵⁷ Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle', pp. 128–29.

³⁵⁸ The following outline coheres with that provided in Carpenter, 'Ralph of Coggeshall's Account', p. 1213, n. 1.

³⁵⁹ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 183: *Rex, comperto quod barones cessassent ab ejus insecutione, conversis habenis, reversus est ad Len, et praefecto ibidem Savarico de Malo-leone, Pictavino, coepit firmare Len. Sed ibidem, ut dicitur, ex nimia voracitate qua semper insatiabilis erat venter ejus, ingurgitatus usque ad crapulam, ex ventris indigerie solutus est in dysenteriam. Postea vero cum paululum cessasset fluxus, phlebotomatus est apud villam in Lindessi, quae dicitur Lacford.* In the Vespasian manuscript, there is a clear change of hand at the precise point where this passage ends.

³⁶⁰ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 117–28. These interesting episodes are 'undated' in the sense that, although they are assigned to the reigns of particular twelfth-century kings, they are not labelled with specific year numbers like many of the other episodes in the *Chronicon Anglicanum*. On this section of the *Chronicon*, see Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order*, pp. 193–213.

of the annal for 1201 follows on from these accounts (fol. 34r, ll. 1–19).³⁶¹ Upon completing this series of disordered and displaced excerpts from the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, the scribe turned back to the very beginning of the chronicle and began copying the text from the opening annal for 1066 (fol. 34r, l. 20).³⁶² He seems to have laid down his pen after completing fol. 73v in the middle of the account of King John's dispute with the Cistercians that is recorded under the annal for 1200.³⁶³ The scribe who succeeded him carried the text down to the end of this annal, copying a crusading bull of Pope Innocent III and outlining the steps he took to encourage western Christians to take the cross prior to the Fourth Crusade (fols 74r–78v, l. 21).³⁶⁴ This second scribe then erroneously started re-copying the story of the wild man captured by fishermen in the reign of Henry II (fol. 78v, ll. 22–32), but he soon realised his blunder, cancelled it, and marked it 'uacat' in much the same way as his predecessor had done on fol. 46r.

A Coggeshall origin for the first two texts in V is therefore beyond reasonable doubt. But the manuscript did not remain at the abbey. At some point in the next two centuries, it made its way by unknown means to the famous library of Saint-Victor in Paris, whose eventual ownership of the volume is attested by a fifteenth-century *ex libris* inscription with the abbey's coat of arms in the lower margin of fol. 1r.³⁶⁵ Indeed, there are two other inscriptions on the opening two folios that also affirm the abbey's ownership: one on the recto of the flyleaf (fol. i), written in what appears to be a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century hand; and another in the upper margin of fol. 1r, just above the opening lines of the *Libellus*, that was almost certainly entered by a scribe of the thirteenth century.³⁶⁶ Strikingly, however, in the latter inscription a later hand has clearly entered the name of Saint-Victor over an erasure.³⁶⁷ It is impossible to determine precisely which religious house this inscription originally referred to, but there are two logical possibilities. Either the inscription formerly identified the abbey where the *Libellus* and the *Chronicon Anglicanum* were copied—Coggeshall itself—or the monks of Coggeshall sent these texts to another house (presumably in England or France) whose name featured in the inscription before it was erased

³⁶¹ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 128–29.

³⁶² Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 1.

³⁶³ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 104; there is no corresponding change of hand at this point in Cotton Vespasian D. X: see fol. 84v, l. 23.

³⁶⁴ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 104–17.

³⁶⁵ Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle', p. 130.

³⁶⁶ There are two additional Saint-Victor ownership inscriptions in V on fols 103v (again with the coat of arms) and 166r.

³⁶⁷ Egger, 'A Pope without Successor', p. 150, n. 34. Egger provides the following transcription: '*Hic est liber ecclesie beati Victoris parisiensis. uem qui ei abstulerit vel super eo fraudem fecerit sit anathema maranatha.*'

at Saint-Victor.³⁶⁸ Since the production of multiple copies of the *Libellus* and the *Chronicon Anglicanum* at Coggeshall suggests that Ralph and his monks were preparing these texts for dissemination, it seems likely that the copies in V indeed belonged to another house before the Victorines acquired them and rebound them with the miscellaneous other texts in V.³⁶⁹

The manuscript attracted a considerable amount of medieval annotation. In terms of outright editorial intervention in the text of the *Libellus*, much of this work appears to have taken place soon after the manuscript was copied, or perhaps even during the copying process. Thanks to the careful additions and alterations made by at least one other scribe (and possibly two or more) writing in different ink, the copy of the *Libellus* frequently makes more grammatical and even literary sense than its counterparts in C and A. For example, when the author compares the Muslims to dogs in Chapters II and IV, the editorial hand has fairly logically changed the adjective ‘rapid’ (*rapidi*), as in CAP, to ‘rabid’ (*rabidi*) through a simple alteration of the descender in *p* for greater poetic effect. The same scribe was also not averse to inserting whole words (often verbs) between the lines or in the margins in order to increase the grammatical fluency of the text.³⁷⁰ Even the addition of a conjunction or preposition in sentences where they were felt to be lacking or the simple emendation of an unusual or erroneous spelling seems to have been carried out with a view to enhancing the Latinity of the *Libellus*.³⁷¹

The copy of the *Libellus* preserved in this manuscript shows clear signs of having been kept up alongside C and A in the scriptorium at Coggeshall. On fol. 3r, for example, the word *timorem* has been entered into the margin, just as in C and A. The marginal note identifying Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as the king of Babylon and Syria also appears twice in two separate hands, the second of which bears quite a strong resemblance to that of the scribe who

³⁶⁸ The extant ownership inscriptions on known Coggeshall manuscripts read: *Liber Sancte Marie de Coggeshale*. It is worth noting that a short note written in a slightly later hand on the verso of fol. 79, which seemingly belongs with the *Libellus* and the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, reads: *Imperatrix reginarum. Reginarum imperatrix. Animarum animarum (sic) imperatrix domina celorum et solatrix animarum*. This appears to be an excerpt from a version of the Marian hymn *Imperatrix reginarum et salvatrix animarum* (*Empress of Queens and Saviour of Souls*). Might this have been added while the manuscript was still at Coggeshall?

³⁶⁹ Egger, ‘A Pope without Successor’, p. 150 states that this rebinding took place prior to 1514.

³⁷⁰ For example, *clamabant* (c. VI), *constituit* (c. VIII), *uelint* (c. X), *accipere* (c. XI), *inuaserunt* (c. XVI).

³⁷¹ For example, *usque* > *usque ad* (c. II), *tiberiade* > *tiberiadem* (c. III), *exigistis* > *exegistis* (c. III), *ilaritate* > *hilaritate* (c. IV), *dantes* > *et dantes* (c. IV), *latratibus* > *more* (c. VI), *tradituri* > *tradituris* (c. XI), *taberer* > *tabor* (c. XVIII), *prospicitis* > *conspicitis* (c. XXI), *ueniret* > *uenisset* (c. XXVII). Full details of these and similar examples are provided in the critical apparatus to the subsequent edition.

entered it in C.³⁷² A further marginal parallel that may shed some light on the original annotation in C appears on fol. 13r of V, where a scribe different from that of the main text has written *.s. bethleem* and associated it with the word *municionem* by means of double virgules. The corresponding note on fol. 13v of C (*bellehem*) lacks the introductory *[scilicet]*, which has probably disappeared as a result of trimming. It therefore appears likely that these emendations to V were made while the manuscript was still in the scriptorium at Coggeshall.

Several early modern hands made further annotations to the manuscript, presumably in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when it was kept in the library of Saint-Victor. The margins of the opening folio of the *Libellus* are particularly cluttered. From the upper margin just above the beginning of the text until nearly halfway down the right-hand margin, a note on the provenance of the *Libellus* reads: *Chronicon terrae sanctae expugnatae à Saladino ... auctore Radulfo Coggeshale in Anglia Cisterciensi monacho tandemque abbate. Claruit anno Christi 1220 sub Henrico 3. Anglorum rege ut notavit vnus Victorianorum ex Cent 3. Scriptorum.*³⁷³ Immediately beneath this note, there is another comment in a similar (far less legible) hand apparently summarising the action of the text. A smaller eighteenth-century hand then refers the reader to the edition of Martène and Durand. This is followed by an arabesque-like pattern before the final note on the page, possibly in yet another early modern hand, which reads *caritate deficiente arca domini soluta est*, a clear summary of the final lines of Chapter I. Additional marginal notes in this and similar hands on fols 4v, 15v, 17r, 18r, 19v, 20r, and 20v comment on what were evidently felt to be noteworthy aspects of the text.³⁷⁴ The final note on the *Libellus* comes at the very end (fol. 22v), written in the same neat hand that entered the reference to Martène and Durand: *Explicit chronicon terrae sanctae.*³⁷⁵

³⁷² Fols 11v and 14v; cf. especially the same note in C, fols 12r and 15v. The note on fol. 16v may be in a different hand.

³⁷³ As noted by Prutz, p. xx. There reference here is to the work of John Bale: see below, p. 98.

³⁷⁴ Some of these notes are extremely difficult to read: see fols 4v (*Templarii et hospitalarii congregantur aduersus Turcos; Aerarium Regis*), 15v (*Author apud Hierosolymis ipse [?] fuit obsesse*), 17r (*livres [?] ezra*), 18r (*Frederici Imperatoris comitatus; submersus in flumine Saleph; Episcopus Beluacensis*), 19v (*hic [?] gestans Christi ... [illegible] nomen est [?] impossibilis*), 20r (*Balduini Archiepiscopi [?] moriens ... [illegible]*), 20v (*impius mercator punitur; Philippus et Ricardus reges petiuerunt ... que; Libellus de gestis a Philippo et Ricardo*).

³⁷⁵ Beneath this note, and next to the opening lines of V's copy of the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, the same scribe has written: *Incipit ejusdem Radulphi commotibus anglicanis sub Joanne Rege.*

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 343, fols 72v–83r [P] (s. xiv)

This is a late medieval manuscript copied from A, with which it shares almost entirely identical contents, albeit in a different order. The bulk of the text was copied by a single scribe in dark ink and laid out in two columns of 60 lines per page. Overall, the manuscript is extremely plain.³⁷⁶ Like V, it lacks large initials, though cue letters have been supplied in the spaces left for these, or in the margins immediately alongside them.³⁷⁷ Most of the chapter titles are written in the margin by the main scribe, but some were incorporated into the text by a scribe with a much larger and more angular hand.³⁷⁸

*Contents*³⁷⁹

fols ir–iv	(fragment) Middle English copy of Ranulf Higden's <i>Polychronicon</i> .
fols 1r–v	Gloss on the Epistle of Jude (partially cancelled).
fols 23r–v	Digression on Justinian.
fols 24r–28v	Short annals on the years 1065–1224 (i.e. <i>Epitome of Ralph of Coggeshall's Chronicon Anglicanum</i>).
fols 28v–71v	Ralph of Coggeshall, <i>Chronicon Anglicanum</i> (partial).
fol. 72r	Miscellaneous verses in Latin and French.
fols 72v–83r	<i>Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum</i> .
fols 83r–v	<i>De ducibus Normannie et regibus Anglie</i> .
fols iir–iiv	(fragment) Middle English copy of Ranulf Higden's <i>Polychronicon</i> .

History, script, and date

The modern catalogue of the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, states: 'Nothing is known of the provenance of this

³⁷⁶ There are very rare instances of red ink: see, for example, fol. 1v: *Incipit prefatio magistri Radulfi Nigri*.

³⁷⁷ Spaces with the following cue initials appear on fols 72va (*q* from *Quantis*), 74ra (*a* from *Anno*), 77rb (*h* from *Hiis*), 77va (*d* from *Denique*), 78vb (*v* from *Vicesima*), 80va (*c* from *Ciuitatem*), 82ra (*f* from *Fredericus*), 82va (*i* from *Illi*).

³⁷⁸ Chapter titles incorporated into the text by the different hand are on fols 74ra (*De adunacione duorum exercitum* [sic]), 77rb (*De capcione urbis achon*), 77va (*De expugnatione ascalonis*), fol. 82ra (*Epistola frederici imperatoris ad saladinum*), fol. 82rb (*Epistola saladini ad fredericum imperatorem*). In-text chapter titles by the main scribe are on fols 74vb (*De aciebus dispositis*), 78vb (*De ineffabili angustia ierosolimitanorum*), 80ra (*Quomodo urbs ierusalem reddita est saladino*), 80rb (*De precipitacione auree crucis*).

³⁷⁹ This list draws on Montague R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1912), vol. 2, pp. 176–78.

manuscript.³⁸⁰ It is nevertheless clear that, apart from the fragments of Higden's *Polychronicon* in fifteenth-century English that bookend the volume (fols ir–v, iir–v), the manuscript was copied in the fourteenth century by one main scribe. Another scribe occasionally entered the titles of different texts and chapters, and there is one brief change of hand in the *Libellus* itself in Chapter XXI.³⁸¹ Otherwise, most marginal annotations on the text were supplied by the main scribe.³⁸² He may also have been responsible for sketching the brief fragment of musical notation that appears in the right-hand margin of fol. 74rb alongside the allusion to the Transfiguration of Jesus (Chapter VIII). He appears at any rate to have favoured adorning the text wherever possible, as indicated by his fondness for anthropomorphising certain *litterae elongatae* and minor initials.³⁸³

As is absolutely clear from the contents, P was copied from A. This may have taken place either at Coggleshall itself, or instead at whichever house A was ultimately sent to. Whatever the case, this process seems to have triggered some structural rearrangement. Whereas the *Libellus* and the *De ducibus Normannie et regibus Anglie* comprise the initial texts in A, they have been relegated to the very end in P. It is also striking that the collection of miscellaneous verses on fol. 72r is situated at the end of A, but has been made in P to serve as a kind of brief scribal interlude between Ralph's *Chronicon Anglicanum* and the *Libellus*. The *Libellus* and the *De ducibus* would therefore seem to have been removed from their original position in the compilation. There is another plausible interpretation, of course: P may well faithfully reflect the original structure of A, which could have been rebound when it came into the possession of William Howard or his nephew, Thomas. But there is no conclusive evidence either way.

Whether P languished in a single library for the remainder of the Middle Ages or travelled from house to house is unclear. It seems not to have drawn any significant attention again for some time after it was copied. Two different titles for the *Libellus* are inscribed in the upper margin of fol. 72v above the opening lines of the text. One, which is written in pale brown ink by a late medieval scribe and spans the upper margin of fol. 73r

³⁸⁰ See Parker Library on the Web, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 343': <<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/jg950dd4356>> [accessed 23 June 2018]. Egger, 'A Pope without Successor', p. 150 states that 'it was in the collection of Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504–75) and bequeathed by him to Corpus Christi College'.

³⁸¹ Fol. 77vb, ll. 17–19: *Interea misit rex babilonis legatos ad templarios qui erant in castello gazaris ubi quondam sanson fortissimus*.

³⁸² See fols 75vb (*si corporalem*), 77ra (*in nomine*), 79va (*sanguis*), 83ra (*octogesimo*, as in A, fol. 15v). One possible exception is the hand of the scribe who wrote *finis* in a very compressed fashion in the left-hand margin of fol. 83r, at the precise point where the *Libellus* ends. This may well be an early modern hand, however.

³⁸³ See, for example, fols 73vb, 74va, 79va, 80ra, 80rb.

as well, reads: *De captione Jerusalem*. This title runs all the way through to fols 76v–77r, but thereafter disappears from the manuscript. The other title, which appears only in the upper margin of fol. 72r and is written in much darker ink in a hand that seems to be early modern, identifies the text simply as *Cronica de terra sancta*. The only other clear signs of modern annotation are the pencil foliation in the upper right-hand corner of each recto, and a marginal comment, possibly by John Bale, at the foot of fol. 28r towards the end of the *Epitome* of Ralph's *Chronicon Anglicanum*.³⁸⁴

***Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 14359, fols 44r–79r [V¹]
(Saint-Victor, Paris, s. xvii)***

This paper manuscript is a miscellany compiled in the seventeenth century at the library of Saint-Victor, Paris, where its shelfmark appears to have been 1112.³⁸⁵ A note in the upper margin of the opening folio of the *Libellus* (fol. 44r) states that this copy of the text was made directly from V and identifies Ralph of Coggeshall as the author: *Radulphus de Coggeshale Anglicani ordinis Cisterciensis ex MS Codice Victoriano AAA.13.nº.67b*. There are two separate paginations in the top right-hand corner of each recto; the outer pagination in a larger and slightly more elegant hand runs consecutively from the opening folio of the manuscript through to the end, whereas the inner pagination varies from text to text. Although the *Libellus* occupies fols 44r–79r of the volume as it currently stands, the text has its own pagination running from 1 (fol. 44) through to 36 (fol. 79). The scribe who copied it frequently misread his medieval exemplar, but showed a good deal of fidelity to its layout, leaving space for the initials precisely where V itself is blank.³⁸⁶ As in V, the annal for 1213 from the *Chronicon Anglicanum* follows on from Šalāḥ al-Dīn's letter to Barbarossa, and the rest of this disordered version of the *Chronicon* is copied down to fol. 136r, without the cancelled duplicate passage that concludes the text in V.

Contents

fol. 2r	'Annals compiled by a regular canon.'
fol. 20r	<i>Excidium Aconis</i> .
fol. 44r	<i>Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae</i> .
fol. 79r	Ralph of Coggeshall, <i>Chronicon Anglicanum</i> (partial).
fol. 180r	Jean de Saint-Victor, <i>Memoriale historiarum</i> .
fol. 417r	Inventory of the furniture of Catherine de' Medici.

³⁸⁴ As identified by James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 177, this note reads: *Finiunt additiones Cisterciensis monachi de Cogeshal*.

³⁸⁵ This shelfmark is recorded on one of the opening flyleaves, labelled fol. 1.

³⁸⁶ See fols 49v (where space is left alongside a complete *Anno*), 59r, 71r (*C* has been written in the space), 75v (*F* has been written in the space).

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 15077, fols 1r–34r
[pp. 1–67] [V²] (Saint-Victor, Paris, s. xvii)

Another paper manuscript, this enormous miscellany was also compiled at Saint-Victor in the seventeenth century. Above the table of contents in an early modern hand on folio 'A', the number '1612' (perhaps a date) has been written in dark ink, and the shelfmark 'St Victor N^o 999' appears about halfway down the same page. The first text in the manuscript, whose opening folio is labelled 'B' in reddish ink, is not handwritten at all, but rather a printed excerpt on the source of the Nile River from the French translation of the *História geral da Etiópia a Alta ou Preste Ioam* (1660) by the Portuguese Jesuit Balthazar Tellez (1596–1675).³⁸⁷ The *Libellus* follows immediately after this extract. Entitled *Chronicon terrae sanctae expugnatae a Saladino Autore Radulpho Coggeshalo In Anglia Cisterciensi Monacho tandemque Abbate*, the text bears two separate systems of pagination in Hindu-Arabic numerals: one written in dark ink in the upper right-hand corner of each recto, beginning with '1b' on the title page and continuing with '2' on the first page of the text itself; and another in a smaller hand, placed just above the first line of text on each page and alternating between the right- and left-hand sides from recto to verso. Although V² does not refer to V as the exemplar of the *Libellus*, either explicitly (as in V¹) or implicitly (as in V³), that it was indeed copied from that MS. is clear from the structure of the copy of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* that follows the *Libellus*. As is the case with V¹, in V² the *Chronicon Anglicanum* begins with the annal for 1213 (fol. 34r [p. 67]) and ends at the same point as V, i.e. with Innocent III's preaching efforts for the Fourth Crusade (fol. 118r [p. 217]). Due to the extreme variety of sources preserved in V², none of which (other than the *Libellus*) have any bearing on the manuscript tradition of our text, only the most significant ones will be listed below, in line with the standard catalogues.³⁸⁸

Contents

fol. 1r	<i>Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae.</i>
fol. 34r	Ralph of Coggeshall, <i>Chronicon Anglicanum</i>
fol. 121r	Will of Philippe de Mézières.
fol. 137r	Letters addressed to Pierre Rainssant.
fol. 171r	General chapters of the Carthusians from 1411.
fol. 328r	Laws of the Bishop of Pamiers.
fol. 362r	Constitutions of the canons of the congregation of Santa Cruz of Coimbra in Portugal.

³⁸⁷ Tellez drew on the *Itinerário* of Jerónimo Lobo (1595–1978), whom he knew: see David Thomas and John A. Chesworth (eds), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 9: Western and Southern Europe (1600–1700)* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 343–46.

³⁸⁸ See, for example, Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor conservés à la Bibliothèque impériale, sous les numéros 14232–15175 du fonds latin* (Paris, 1869), pp. 70–1.

*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 17802 [V³]
(Saint-Victor, Paris, s. xvii)*

This paper manuscript, which formerly bore the shelfmark ‘nouv. acq. lat. 1097’ (fol. 1r), contains a standalone copy of the *Libellus*. Like V¹ and V², it was made at Saint-Victor in the seventeenth century. The hand of the main scribe is much less elegant and legible than those of the scribes of V¹ and V². On the title page (fol. 1r), a different scribe has written: *Chronica de Captione Jerusalem a Sarracenis. Anno Domini Millesimo centesimo Octogesimo septimo. Ex veterj cod. Victorino*. This is repeated in the same hand in the upper margin of fol. 2r above the opening lines of the text. The *Libellus* itself extends no further than the reference to the prior of Holy Trinity and his ‘book’ (fol. 23v); the scribe appears to have deliberately omitted Part III, the ostensibly spurious epistolary exchange between Barbarossa and Şalāḥ al-Dīn that circulated with all other manuscripts of the text.

Relationships between the manuscripts

As will be clear from the previous discussion and the critical apparatus included with the subsequent edition, A and V were both copied from C. We have seen that not all of the marginal and interlinear annotations in C were carried over into these two copies, so it appears likely that all three thirteenth-century witnesses were at least to some extent being revised at the same time in the scriptorium at Coggeshall. P was evidently copied directly from A, though there are occasional points at which V and P share readings against C, A, or C and A together. Most of these are of an incidental or very minor nature, such as insignificant orthographical parallels. V¹, V², and V³ were all copied from V at Saint-Victor in the seventeenth century.

The relationship between the manuscripts is represented in the following stemma:

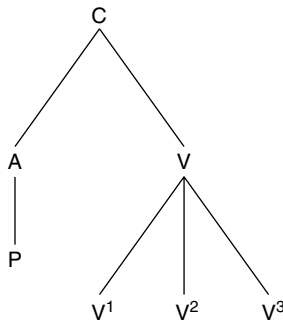


Figure 4 Stemma depicting the relationship between the manuscripts of the *Libellus*.

Date

As will be clear from the preceding discussion, there is very little evidence with which to securely date the *Libellus*. If we accept the attribution of the *IP2* to Richard de Templo, whom King Henry III confirmed as prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate on 24 October 1222, then the extant *Libellus* must post-date this event; unless, of course, Peter of Cornwall, prior of Holy Trinity from 1197 until his death on 7 July 1221, composed *IP2*, or commissioned Richard de Templo to write the work while Richard was still a canon. The date of the extant *Libellus* therefore depends on the question of precisely when *IP2* itself was composed—but that question cannot be answered without a much more detailed study of the relationship between *IP2* and Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, as well as the arguments usually advanced in favour of dating *IP2* to the period between 1216 and 1222.³⁸⁹ It is not our purpose to provide such an analysis here, although it must be said that we do not necessarily find these arguments compelling. In any case, the safest conclusion to draw in the light of current scholarship and the evidence at hand is that the extant *Libellus* was probably completed and disseminated after 24 October 1222.

This conclusion, however, does not bring us any closer to determining the date of Part I, i.e. the section of the *Libellus* that we believe represents the 'original' text (or at least something very similar to it). As we have seen, the revisions on fols 52r–54r, l. 2 of the autograph manuscript of Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*, which incorporate information from the *Libellus* and were probably made no earlier than 1204, may indicate that Part I was in existence by the early thirteenth century, but there is no way to establish exactly when the scribe in question was at work.³⁹⁰ Fascinating though it is, the palaeographical evidence can only take us so far. In terms of textual evidence, nothing militates strongly against the possibility that the *Libellus* had emerged in its earliest form by 1204, or even that it was composed in the 1190s. Peter Edbury has suggested that the original *Ernoul* was composed 'before 1193'; if the author of Part I of the *Libellus* drew on an early version of *Ernoul*, as we have argued in this introduction, then the *Libellus* must have been written either in tandem with or after the prototype of the Old French tradition.³⁹¹ But how likely is it that the *Libellus* was composed at the beginning of the 1190s, perhaps alongside and in some kind of dialogue with proto-*Ernoul* itself?

The author's frequent hesitation in naming names and pointing fingers may be significant in this respect. 'Imād al-Dīn says that, after the fall of Jerusalem, refugees from the city made their way primarily to Tyre.³⁹² It is quite possible

³⁸⁹ See above, pp. 80–1.

³⁹⁰ See above, pp. 76–81.

³⁹¹ Edbury, 'Ernoul, Eracles, and the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', p. 53.

³⁹² 'Imād al-Dīn, p. 49.

that Part I of the *Libellus* was penned there, or during the subsequent siege of Acre (1189–1191), at which Sibylla, Eraclius, Gerard de Ridefort, Balian of Ibelin, Reynald of Sidon, Joscelin III of Edessa, and Guy and Aimery de Lusignan were all present at different times.³⁹³ The close proximity of the political actors whom our author deemed responsible for the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem may have discouraged explicit inculpation and rendered overt accusations of wrongdoing very difficult. Even if so, with the arrival of numerous crusaders from the West, beginning in 1189, there was a steady stream of possible ‘Your Excellencies’ who would have been both eager for information and likely to represent suitable addressees in the author’s eyes. Two particularly promising candidates were Baldwin of Forde, archbishop of Canterbury († 19 November 1190 at Acre), and Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury (1189–1193), and later archbishop of Canterbury (1193–1205), both of whom were intimately connected with the English Cistercian houses. If the earliest version of the *Libellus* was indeed composed at Tyre or Acre, it is quite possible that the text made its way back to England with returning crusaders at some point between 1189 and 1193. Alternatively, the author may have travelled to the West by similar means and penned his work with the benefit of both hindsight and geographical separation.

None of these suggestions can be proven, of course, and the possibility remains that the *Libellus* had an entirely different genesis. For example, the author may have come to western Europe as part of one of the many pleas for help in 1187 and the following years, and the intended recipient of his work may have been either a king, a pope, or a senior ecclesiastic such as Henri de Marcy or Peter of Blois. Whatever the case, a considerable degree of hindsight is certainly implied—if not explicitly stated—at key moments in the narrative. In the reference to the man who received an arrow-wound to his nose, the author says that the iron had remained embedded ‘to this day’ (*usque hodie*), which hints at the passage of an unspecified amount of time.³⁹⁴ Just prior to this striking account, the author asks a dramatic rhetorical question that conveys a similar sense of temporal (and even spiritual) dislocation: ‘Who, then, has the power to say how, in those days, when God seemed to rule the city, one man was struck and died, while another was wounded and escaped?’³⁹⁵ On the surface, at least, these remarks do not give the impression of having been written mere days or weeks after the fall of Jerusalem.

The *Libellus* nevertheless pulses with a sense of emotional turmoil which indicates that Part I did not stem from the pen of a monk looking back on the events of 1187 many years later. As Penny Cole has remarked, ‘the unmistakable expressions of anger and passionate regret which pervade

³⁹³ RRRH nos 1271–2; 1279–80; 1285.

³⁹⁴ See above, pp. 11–12, 23–4.

³⁹⁵ *Libellus*, c. XXIII: *In illis itaque diebus in quibus deus uidebatur regere ciuitatem, quis ualet dicere qualiter ille percussus obiit, ille uulneratus euasit?*

[the text] suggest that it was written not long after the retreat [from Jerusalem in October 1187] when the effects of the trauma were still sharp'.³⁹⁶ Until more conclusive evidence comes to light, we can only agree with this deduction and state that we believe that the earliest version of the *Libellus* was composed in the very late 1180s or early 1190s.

Notices, editions, and translations

To the best of our knowledge, the first published, post-medieval notice of the *Libellus* was made by the antiquary John Bale (1495–1563), bishop of Ossory. In the second edition of his *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytannie* in 1557, Bale listed a *Chronicon terrae sanctae* among the works of Ralph of Coggeshall.³⁹⁷ He had not included any entry for Ralph of Coggeshall in the first edition of the work in 1548.³⁹⁸ In fact, Bale derived his information from a second party. Between 1548 and 1557, he had become acquainted with a certain Nicholas Brigham († 1558), who was an antiquary, lawyer, and teller of the English Exchequer.³⁹⁹ After 1548, Bale had compiled a book of notes for a second edition of the *Illustrium maioris Brytanniae scriptorum*, which still survives.⁴⁰⁰ Under his heading for Ralph of Coggeshall, he wrote 'Ex magno libro Nicolai Brigan.', and listed among Ralph's works *Additiones Radulphi Nigri*, *Super quibusdam uisionibus*, *Conciones quaedam*, as well as the *Chronicon de Terra Sancta*, adding that 'he wrote many other things' (*alia plura scripsit*). Apparently, Brigham either possessed, or had transcribed, a manuscript containing both the *Libellus* and other works by Ralph of Coggeshall. In their surviving form, none of the four known manuscripts of the *Libellus* contain all these works of Ralph, and no manuscript of the sermons, the *Conciones*, or *Super quibusdam uisionibus* is known any longer. Brigham must either have had a manuscript of Ralph's works that is now lost, or else he transcribed works by Ralph from a manuscript or manuscripts now lost.

Thereafter, Bale's information was repeated by a series of bibliophiles: John Pits in 1619, Gerrit Vos in 1627, Charles de Visch in 1649, William Cave

³⁹⁶ Penny Cole, 'Christian Perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (583/1187)', *Al-Masāq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1993), pp. 9–39, here p. 20.

³⁹⁷ John Bale [Balaesus], *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytannie, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam uocant*, 2 vols (Basel, 1557, 1559; rprnt Farnborough, 1971), centuria tertia, n° LXXXVIII (vol. 1, pp. 275–76); see also Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle', p. 126.

³⁹⁸ John Bale, *Illustrium maioris Brytanniae scriptorum* ... etc. (Wesel, 1548).

³⁹⁹ See James P. Carley, 'Brigham, Nicholas († 1558), administrator and antiquary', *ODNB*.

⁴⁰⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Selden, supra 64, fol. 160r. The notebook was published by Reginald Lane Poole and Mary Bateson (eds), *Index Britanniae scriptorum: John Bale's index of British and other writers* (1902; rprnt, Cambridge, 1990), pp. 327–28.

in 1698, Casimir Oudin in 1722, and Johann Albert Fabricius in 1754.⁴⁰¹ Cave doubted that the *Chronicon* still existed; he clearly had not seen a manuscript.⁴⁰² To the best of our knowledge, Oudin was the first to identify a manuscript of the *Libellus* in the monastery of St Victor at Paris, then with the shelf mark AAA 13: this is now MS. lat. 15076 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, i.e. V in the present edition.⁴⁰³ In 1748, David Wilkins completed and published the *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* of Thomas Tanner, bishop of St Asaph. In the *Bibliotheca*, Tanner identified the manuscripts of the College of Arms, Arundel XI (A) and the British Museum [now British Library], Cotton Cleopatra B. I (C).⁴⁰⁴ To the best of our knowledge no editor of the *Libellus* to this date has commented on or used the manuscript in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (P).

The *Libellus* was first published in 1729 by Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand under the general title *Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ auctore Radulpho Coggeshale ordinis Cisterciensis abbate* (*Chronicle of the Holy Land [by] Ralph, abbot of Coggeshall of the Cistercian Order*) in the fifth volume of their *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*.⁴⁰⁵ The two French Benedictines stated that they edited the text ‘from a very old codex of the library of St Victor, Paris, written in the author’s time’.⁴⁰⁶ Their belief that Ralph of Coggeshall had composed the *Libellus* evidently rested on Bale’s attribution of the work to Ralph, for they cite Bale as their authority on this point.⁴⁰⁷ Nevertheless, they also made a case for Ralph’s authorship on the basis of the first-person passages and eyewitnessing tropes discussed above. A fairly superficial reading of these passages led Martène and Durand to the conclusion that

⁴⁰¹ John Pits [Pitts/Pitseus], *De illustribus Angliae scriptoribus*, in his *Relationum historicarum de rebus Anglicis*, tomus primus, 113–818 (Paris, 1619; rpt, Farnborough, 1969), n° 325, pp. 301–2; Gerrit Vos [Gerardus Vossius], *De historicis Latinis libri III* (1627; rpt, Leiden, 1651; rpt Farnborough, 1970), book 2, p. 470; Charles de Visch, *Bibliotheca scriptorum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis...* (Douai, 1649), p. 224.

⁴⁰² William Cave, *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria ... pars altera* (London, 1698), p. 428: ‘Scripsit, teste Baleo, *chronicon Terrae Sancta*, quod an hodie supersit multum dubito.’

⁴⁰³ Casimir Oudin, *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquae ... etc.*, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1722), vol. 3, c. 95.

⁴⁰⁴ Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Brittanico-Hibernica* (London, 1748), p. 187.

⁴⁰⁵ Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand (eds), *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1729; rpt, New York, 1968), cols 543–82. The *Libellus* had not been included in their earlier work: Martène and Durand (eds), *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols (Paris, 1717; rpt, Farnborough, 1968).

⁴⁰⁶ Martène and Durand, pp. 543–44: *Ex pervetusto codice Parisiensis sancti Victoris bibliothecæ, auctoris ætate conscripto*.

⁴⁰⁷ Martène and Durand, pp. 545–46.

Ralph made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land ‘either at the time when he was a canon of Barnwell, or beforehand’, and that he used the *Libellus* to report on what he had seen there, especially during the siege of Jerusalem, where he was wounded.⁴⁰⁸ Of course, there is no evidence that Ralph ever travelled to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and in 1873 William Stubbs refuted the notion that Ralph had been a canon at Barnwell Priory in Cambridgeshire.⁴⁰⁹

The ‘very old codex’ used by Martène and Durand was in fact V. Arranged in two columns, their text adheres closely to the orthographical conventions of eighteenth-century editions, such as classicised spelling and the use of ligatures where the manuscript features two separate letters or even one (e.g. *æ* for *ae* or *e*). In line with the manuscript, Martène and Durand’s text does not feature chapter headings, although it does include marginal notes in smaller type supplying brief summaries of each paragraph. Their edition indicates no knowledge of or suggests any attempt to collate other manuscripts of the *Libellus*. Significantly for the present edition and translation, however, Martène and Durand were the first to use the title *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum*, which they prefaced to the work following their short introduction on the (alleged) author.⁴¹⁰

The existence of the English manuscripts would have become better known with the publication in 1777 of Hooper’s catalogue of the Cotton manuscripts, which had come to the British Museum on its founding in 1753, and even more so with Planta’s catalogue of 1802.⁴¹¹ Thomas Smith’s earlier catalogue of the Cotton manuscripts, compiled at a time when they were still in the possession of the Cotton family, may not have been so well-known.⁴¹² In 1829, the catalogue of the Arundel manuscripts in the College of Arms was also printed, although not published.⁴¹³ The St Victor manuscript would have become well-known only after 1869, when Léopold Delisle

⁴⁰⁸ Martène and Durand, pp. 543–44: *Is sive quo tempore canonicus erat Barnevelensis, sive antea, sacram ad loca sancta peregrinationem suscepit, eorum quæ tunc a Sarracenis in Christianæ religionis detrimentum gesta sunt, testis oculatus, uti ipse asserit ...*

⁴⁰⁹ William Stubbs (ed.), *The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry*, 2 vols (London, RS, 1872–1873), vol. 1, p. ix.

⁴¹⁰ Martène and Durand, p. 547.

⁴¹¹ Samuel Hooper, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library* (London, 1777), p. 2: ‘Belli sacri Historiola a Baldwini Pueri R. Morte (1184) usque ad Hierosolimas amissas’. *Cleop. B I*; Joseph Planta, *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Cottonian Library deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802), p. 577: ‘Cleopatra B. I. 1. “Historia belli sacri, à morte Baldewini pueri Latinorum regis septimi, i.e. ab Ao 1184, ad Hierosolymas à Saracenis captas”’.

⁴¹² Thomas Smith, *Librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecæ Cottonianæ catalogus* (Oxford, 1696), p. 137: Cleopatra B. I. 1. ‘Historia belli sacri a morte Baldewini pueri, Latinorum regis septimi, i.e. ab anno 1184 ad Hierosolymas a Saracenis captas’.

⁴¹³ See above, p. 82, n. 335.

published his inventory of the St Victor manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Impériale.⁴¹⁴ Strangely enough, even though a catalogue of the manuscripts of the Parker Library in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was published as early as 1777, and then republished several times, no subsequent editor of the *Libellus* appears to have known about the copy there.⁴¹⁵ Martène and Durand's edition remained the sole printed text of the *Libellus* for nearly 130 years after its publication.

At some point in the early 1850s, an English stationer, printer, antiquarian, and amateur archaeologist, Alfred John Dunkin (1812–1879) of Dartford, Kent, published and translated the *Libellus* in the appendix to his *Monumenta Anglicana. Coggeshall (English Monuments: Coggeshall)*, which he printed himself in a private run of 25 copies.⁴¹⁶ It appears that Dunkin distributed the *Monumenta* randomly; no complete copy is known. Various sections of the work are scattered in different libraries under inconsistent titles. There are at least two versions. The two copies in the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the copy in the British Library in London are both undated. They have identical pagination and some of the same contents, but present some different materials as well.⁴¹⁷ The copy in the Cambridge University Library, which bears the printed date 1852, is paginated in virtually the same way, but does not contain the *Libellus*.⁴¹⁸ It therefore seems likely that Dunkin originally printed the appendix without a date, presumably in 1852, but then reprinted it with different pagination and the date itself later in 1852 after the first run had been exhausted. Another reprint appeared in 1856.

⁴¹⁴ Delisle, *Inventaire*, p. 70: '15076 I. *Chronique de la Terre Sainte et chronique d'Angleterre, attribués à Raoul de Coggeshalle. XIII s.*'

⁴¹⁵ Jacob Nasmith (ed.), *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum quos collegio corporis christi et B. Mariae Virginis in academia cantabrigensi legavit reverendissimus in Christo pater Matthaues Parker archiepiscopus cantuariensis* (Cambridge, 1777), p. 356: 'CCCXLIII. Codex membranaceum in folio, seculo XV scriptus in quo continetur: ... 2. Chronicon de terra sancta, seu de captione Hierusalem.'

⁴¹⁶ On Dunkin, see Shirley Burgoyne Black, 'Dunkin, Alfred John (1812–1879)', *ODNB*.

⁴¹⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gen.Top.C.15: *Monumenta Anglicana. Coggeshall*, edited by Alfred John Dunkin of Dartford, Kent (no date); Oxford, Bodleian Library, 2 DELTA 913 under Alfred J. Dunkin (ed.), *Radulphi abbatis de Coggeshal opera quae supersunt* (Noviomago [Dartford], no date); London, British Library, J/10351/K.15: edited by Alfred John Dunkin of Dartford, Kent (ed.), *Monumenta Anglicana. Coggeshall* (no date). The British Library catalogue assigns the date 1855 to its copy but in fact there is none. The Oxford copies have the date 1852 added in pencil. The Latin text of the *Libellus* is on pp. X–XXXIII.

⁴¹⁸ Our thanks to Dr Nicholas Smith of the Cambridge University Library Rare Books Department for this information. There is another copy of Dunkin's work in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Dunkin attributed the *Libellus* to Ralph of Coggeshall on the authority of Martène and Durand and earlier antiquaries like Bale. As a preface to the Latin text, he provided an *Observatio Prævia* that was lifted word for word—without any acknowledgement whatsoever at this particular juncture—from Martène and Durand’s own preliminary remarks.⁴¹⁹ Egregious though this act of scholarly theft might seem, it is ironically fitting, given that Dunkin’s ‘edition’ of the *Libellus*, which he presented as an *editio princeps*, also derives verbatim from Martène and Durand’s text. Aside from very minor orthographical variations and the omission of any mention of the manuscript used, Dunkin is virtually indistinguishable from Martène and Durand with regard to the Latin text. His printing is therefore of no independent value at all.

At the very least, Dunkin can be credited with fashioning the first complete English translation of the *Libellus*. To accompany this translation, Dunkin provided a ‘Translator’s Preface to the Chronicle of the Holy Land’, followed by an ‘Introduction’, the first part of which is simply a translation of Martène and Durand’s preface.⁴²⁰ In this preface, he notes that his translation was ‘executed for the general reader’.⁴²¹ In the second part of the ‘Introduction’, however, Dunkin added a note of his own, acknowledging that the French Benedictines were his source for the first part (though making no mention of their edition or ‘his’) and listing the various extant manuscripts by drawing on notices in Tanner’s *Bibliotheca* and the works of other antiquaries.⁴²² He seems to have become rather confused by this information, however, for he mistakenly says: ‘The present text of the Chronicle is taken from the Cotton MS., 4. Vesp. D. x.’⁴²³ As if pilfering Martène and Durand’s edition, based on the Paris manuscript, had not already invalidated this claim, Dunkin, who had apparently never seen a medieval copy of the text, must have been unaware of the fact that the Vespasian manuscript does not preserve a copy of the *Libellus*. It should therefore come as no surprise that Dunkin repeated many of the same mistakes when he reprinted the *Libellus* in 1856—privately and in a run of 25 copies once again again—in his *Radulphi Abbatis de Coggeshal opera quæ supersunt* (*Surviving Works of Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall*).⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁹ Dunkin, *Monumenta Anglicana. Coggeshall* (1852), pp. X–XI.

⁴²⁰ Dunkin, *Monumenta Anglicana. Coggeshall* (1856), pp. 289–304.

⁴²¹ Dunkin, *Monumenta Anglicana. Coggeshall* (1856), p. 289.

⁴²² Dunkin, *Monumenta Anglicana. Coggeshall* (1856), pp. 302–4.

⁴²³ Dunkin, *Monumenta Anglicana. Coggeshall* (1856), p. 304.

⁴²⁴ Dunkin (ed.), *Radulphi abbatis de Coggeshal opera quæ supersunt* (Noviomago [Dartford, Kent], 1856). Dunkin himself was the printer. There are various extant copies of the work: London, British Library, 9510.ccc.5 and 09506.i.32; Oxford, Bodleian Library, 2 DELTA 913; Cambridge University Library, Syn.6.85.24 and RCS.Case.c.354. The second British Library copy has annotations by Sir Frederic Madden, who altered Dunkin’s name to ‘Donkey’ in one particular scathing comment: see Willoughby, ‘A Templar chronicle’, p. 132, n. 1.

By 1875, when the next edition of the *Libellus* appeared, the belief that Ralph of Coggeshall was the author of the work had come under heavy criticism.⁴²⁵ In the preface to his new edition of the text, published in the ongoing Rolls Series and appended to Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*, the historian and archivist Joseph Stevenson echoed these doubts and expressed his own severe reservations that the author of the *Chronicon* had also been responsible for writing the *Libellus*.⁴²⁶ Although Stevenson's preface offers a lucid introduction to Ralph's context and displays noteworthy caution in its treatment of the authorship of the *Libellus*, it lacks detail and scope. Most unhelpfully, Stevenson did not explicitly identify which manuscripts he had consulted for his edition of the *Libellus*.⁴²⁷ The occurrence of the sigla C, H, and V throughout his apparatus indicates that he used three copies, but only a fresh collation of the four medieval manuscripts, coupled with a careful reading of Stevenson's apparatus and introductory footnotes, has allowed us to determine conclusively that these sigla denote respectively the manuscripts C, A, and V in the present edition. It does not appear that Stevenson had any knowledge of the Cambridge manuscript.

Nevertheless, Stevenson effectively produced the first critical edition of the *Libellus*. Even if it is light on crucial prefatory information and lacks certain features that characterise the more meticulous editing standards of recent decades, Stevenson's text possesses the distinct advantage of having been based on the earliest extant copy of the work, C, with variant readings supplied from the two roughly contemporary manuscripts, A and V. In this respect alone his edition supersedes those of Martène and Durand and Dunkin (whom Stevenson does not even mention). Indeed, Stevenson appears to have been a careful editor on the whole. He recorded many of the marginal notes, interlinear additions, alterations, and significant variant spellings in these three early manuscripts, and for the first time incorporated the chapter titles, understandably missing in previous editions due to their absence from V. If some of these details inevitably slipped through Stevenson's editorial net, it was not for want of trying on his part. The end result of his conscientious efforts was a neat and generally accurate edition with classicised spelling and modernised punctuation.

The next editor of the *Libellus*, Hans Prutz, published his text almost immediately after Stevenson in 1876, under the title *Anonymi Chronicon Terrae Sanctae s. Libellus de expugnatione (The Chronicle of the Holy Land [by] an Anonymous [Author]; namely, The Little Book on the Conquest)*.⁴²⁸ Although it constitutes a more reliable edition of V than that furnished by Martène and Durand in some respects, Prutz's text suffers from the absence

⁴²⁵ Stubbs in *IP2*, pp. lv–lvi.

⁴²⁶ Stevenson in Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. xviii–ix.

⁴²⁷ Stevenson in Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. xvi–xviii.

⁴²⁸ Prutz, pp. xix–103.

of a comparative critical apparatus akin to that which makes Stevenson's useful even today. In fact, there is no evidence that Prutz had inspected the two early English manuscripts, C and A, though he was clearly aware of them.⁴²⁹ Nor does he appear to have consulted the editions by Stevenson and Dunkin, which are not cited in any of his notes. As far as the text itself is concerned, then, his edition is of little use in its own right.

What really sets Prutz apart from his predecessors is his lengthy introduction, which features an extensive discussion of the potential authorship of the *Libellus* and the different stages in which the text was composed. As we have seen, this analysis is far from perfect: Prutz repeated several long-standing mistaken assumptions regarding Ralph of Coggeshall's life (for example, his debunked stint at Barnwell), and his argument that the exegetical content of the *Libellus* was retrospectively grafted onto a bare-bones historical narrative does not appear to be supported by the way in which this material is so densely woven into the account.⁴³⁰ Yet his introduction represents the first sustained attempt to engage with the crucial questions surrounding the origins of the *Libellus*. His contribution undeniably highlighted several key threads for more recent historians to unravel, and it also laid the groundwork for scholarship on the *Libellus* in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In retrospect, it seems appropriate that his edition appeared so soon after Stevenson's, for they complement each other well.

In a similar vein to Dunkin, though with a clearer sense of the value of acknowledging scholarly sources, the Franciscan scholar Sabino de Sandoli republished excerpts from Stevenson's edition of the *Libellus*, together with a facing Italian translation, under the title *Radulphus Coggeshalensis de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum (Ralph of Coggeshall, 'On the Conquest of the Holy Land by Saladin')* in 1983.⁴³¹ Echoing outdated scholarship on the authorship of the text, de Sandoli believed that Ralph of Coggeshall had composed the *Libellus* following a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁴³² This no doubt explains why he chose to include it in his four-volume collection of pilgrimage accounts. De Sandoli's arrangement of the material is extremely fragmentary, however, for he took only a small selection of passages from the *Libellus* and conflated them within five 'chapters' (numbered I–V), thus conveying no sense of the overarching narrative. In fact, de Sandoli seems to have singled out passages that shed light on the sacred geography of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as described in the *Libellus*. His reprinting of Stevenson's edition is therefore too derivative and piecemeal to be of meaningful use.

⁴²⁹ Prutz, p. xx.

⁴³⁰ For a full discussion of Prutz's arguments, see above, pp. 13–24.

⁴³¹ Sabino de Sandoli (ed. and trans.), *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum* (Jerusalem, 1983), vol. 3, pp. 109–19.

⁴³² De Sandoli, *Itinera*, vol. 3, p. 109.

Until now, Dunkin's translation has remained the only complete published rendering of the *Libellus* into English, though its rarity and obscurity have largely excluded it from scholarship on the text. Of far greater value than his 'edition', it is largely accurate and furnished with several useful explanatory notes. Nevertheless, the translation is excessively literal in places and has a tendency towards archaism that is not always demanded by the text (despite the author's own elevated style). The excerpts on the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn and the siege of Jerusalem translated by James Brundage in 1962 far surpass Dunkin's text in fluency.⁴³³ In 2010, Graham Loud produced a similarly readable complete translation for his students at the University of Leeds. This generally represents a significant improvement on Dunkin's version and is freely available online.⁴³⁴

Principles of edition and translation

The present edition is based on a collation of all four extant medieval witnesses to the *Libellus*. C has been selected as the base manuscript due to its primacy in the tradition. All readings should therefore be assumed to derive from C, unless otherwise noted in the critical apparatus. The format of the apparatus itself is modelled primarily on the system employed in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and *Oxford Medieval Texts*, whereby variant readings are supplied at the foot of each page of the edition in a series of alphabetical footnotes.

Although every effort has been made to adhere as closely as possible to the manuscript, our goal has been to produce a critical rather than a diplomatic edition. Unlike in the earliest editions, spellings have not been classicised. The essential features of modern punctuation (quotation marks, exclamation marks, question marks, semicolons, colons, dashes, etc.) have been included where necessary, but we have endeavoured to keep these to a minimum. The general aim has also been to restrict commas, full stops, and the like to points at which the manuscripts feature a *punctus*, *punctus elevatus*, or *punctus interrogativus*. Only proper nouns and words at the beginning of sentences have been capitalised, though proper nouns remain uncapitalised in the apparatus. All proper nouns that have been capitalised are names of people, places, or ethnic groups; religious designations (e.g. *christiani*, *iudei*),

⁴³³ J. A. Brundage (ed. and trans.), *The Crusades: A Documentary Survey* (Milwaukee, WI, 1962), pp. 153–63.

⁴³⁴ G. A. Loud (trans.), 'The Conquest of the Holy Land by Saladin', *Medieval history texts in translation* (University of Leeds: Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures, 2010), available at: <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/arts/info/125211/projects/1102/medieval_history_texts_in_translation> [accessed 23 June 2018]. The authors are grateful to Professor Loud for sharing a copy of his translation with John Pryor at a much earlier stage of the current project.

names of buildings (e.g. *sepulcrum*), and names of institutions (e.g. *templum*, *hospitalis*) remain in the lower case. All instances of the name ‘Jesus’ in Latin have been rendered as the standard *Iesus*. Further information about all places whose names are in bold font in the translation can be found at the back of the book in ‘Appendix 2—Gazetteer’.

Both cardinal and ordinal numbers have been given in capital Roman numerals between full stops, except where they are spelled out in the manuscripts. All superscript morphological endings written above or after numbers (e.g. *-tis*, *-or*, and *-mum*) have been removed. Variations in form (VI, vi., vi^a, etc.) have not been noted in the apparatus, but we have recorded when the numbers themselves vary between manuscripts.

Because the *Libellus* is relatively short and no critical edition using all four medieval manuscripts has yet been produced, our apparatus aims to record all noteworthy variants, erasures, emendations, interlinear additions, marginal notes, and other features of palaeographical interest. We have decided to incorporate several of the marginal and interlinear notes into the text wherever they add useful information or appear to improve the grammar (as is often the case with the minor additions in V). While every effort has been made to identify instances where additions or insertions were clearly made by a different scribe or scribes, much closer palaeographical study of the manuscripts is needed to distinguish these with certainty.

As a general rule, common orthographical variants in medieval Latin (e.g. *t* for *c*, *u* for *v*, *m* for *n* in certain medial positions, etc.) do not appear in the apparatus, except in the case of proper nouns or instances where recording them helps to establish the manuscript tradition or highlight the differences between witnesses. In addition, words that are unnecessarily separated or fused in the manuscripts are only noted in the apparatus where they appear to change the grammatical sense of the text or shed light on the manuscript tradition. Any material that we have added to the text by inference or through comparison has been placed in angle brackets.

It is often difficult to tell in the manuscripts where one ‘chapter’ ends and another begins. Where this is particularly ambiguous, we have indicated in footnotes to the translation that our placement of the relevant chapter title is an editorial decision. For the most part, however, we have decided to keep these headings in the same position as in Stevenson’s edition. Some of the rubrics in C and A have lost letters due to trimming. Comparison of these manuscripts with each other and with P has allowed us to reconstruct the ‘original’ rubric in almost all cases. Wherever there is lingering doubt, or any sign of variation between the manuscripts in the trimmed material, we have noted this damage; otherwise, we have not recorded instances of trimming in the apparatus. All chapter titles have been numbered in capital Roman numerals for ease of reference.

Like all translations that lay any claim to scholarly usefulness, ours aims to strike the proverbial (and perennially elusive) balance between accuracy

and readability. For the sake of comparison and clarification of particularly knotty passages, we have occasionally consulted the previous translations by Dunkin, Brundage, and Loud, as well Helen Nicholson's translation of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*. Nevertheless, when we translated the entire *Libellus* afresh at the outset of this project in 2008, we chose not to read other versions until we began refining our own. This process has been ongoing ever since (and, in theory, will extend beyond the publication of this book). In the interests of improving the fluency of our translation, we have taken various liberties with the many ablative absolute constructions, postpositive conjunctions and adverbs of which the author, like so many of his contemporaries, was especially fond. Most of the ablative absolutes have been reworked as temporal, causal, concessive, or conditional clauses, and we have not hesitated simply to omit postpositives in passages where they act as rhetorical ornaments, linking devices, or structural signposts that do not contribute significantly to the sense of a particular sentence or passage.

When the author quotes the Old and New Testaments, we have used the Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate as the basis for our own, since we believe that it conveys most closely the sense of the Latin text of the Bible as he would have known it. We also feel that the archaic and elevated style of the Douay-Rheims version is suited to a translation of the *Libellus* into modern English, for the author's account of 1187 is self-evidently biblical in outlook, style, and tone. Nevertheless, we have not adhered slavishly to Douay-Rheims. Instead, we have altered the grammar and vocabulary where necessary to reflect the way in which the author of the *Libellus* uses each individual quotation. All Arabic terms (e.g. *fuqahā'*) are transliterated and given in their modern forms.

The following abbreviations are used in the critical apparatus:

<i>add.</i>	<i>addit; addunt</i>
<i>mg.</i>	margin
<i>interlin.</i>	interlined; interlinear; between the lines
<i>om.</i>	<i>omittit; omittunt</i>

Sigla used in this edition

- C** London, British Library, Cotton MS. Cleopatra B. I (s. xiiiⁱⁿ)
A London, College of Arms, Arundel MS. XI (s. xiiiⁱⁿ)
V Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 15076
(s. xiiiⁱⁿ [after 1216])
P Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 343 (s. xiv)

LIBELLUS DE EXPUGNATIONE TERRAE SANCTAE PER SALADINUM

I *De comitissa Iopen uncta in reginam, et de dissensione procerum*

[fol. 2r] Quantis pressuris et calamitatibus oppressa sit et contrita orientalis ecclesia a paganis, sine dolore et effusione lacrimarum uestre excellentie quis intimare potest? Ingresso itaque uiam uniuerse carnis rege Baldewino puero^a latinorum rege septimo, immo^b octauo,^b conuenerunt seniores Ierusalem simul, sed non in unum. Princeps^c scilicet sacerdotum et magister milicie templi cum suis militibus et Reginaldus princeps Montis Regalis cum amicis comitis et comitisse Iopenensis, portas ciuitatis Ierusalem clausurunt, neminem exire uel intrare permittentes, absentibus principibus et baronibus terre comitissam Iopensem Sibillam^d nomine filiam regis Almerici^d

^a *illegible regnal number interlin. in different hand C* ^{b-b} *in mg. C* ^c *Principes V*
^{d-d} *in mg. in different hand C*

THE CONQUEST OF THE HOLY LAND BY ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN

I *About the countess of Jaffa, anointed as queen, and the discord of the nobles*

Who is able to make known to Your Excellency without grief and an effusion of tears under what great burdens and calamities the Eastern Church has been oppressed and crushed by the pagans?¹

So, after King Baldwin the boy, the seventh (or more correctly, the eighth) king of the Latins,² had gone the way of all flesh,³ the lords of Jerusalem assembled, but not as one. The prince, namely [the prince] of the priests, the master of the Order of the Temple with his knights, and Reynald, prince of Montréal, with the friends of the count and countess of Jaffa, closed the gates of the city of Jerusalem, allowing nobody to go out or come in.⁴ In the absence of the princes and barons of the land, they anointed as queen the

¹ The identity of the person addressed as 'Your Excellency' is unknown. On the parallels between this rhetorical opening and the *salutationes* (opening sections) of a variety of letters, see Introduction, pp. 15–17.

² Reckoned inclusively from King Baldwin I (r. 1100–1118), Baldwin V was the seventh king of Jerusalem. 'Or more correctly, the eighth' is an erroneous marginal comment on MS C made at Coggeshall; see Introduction, p. 27.

³ The *Latin Continuation* opens with similar phrasing. Since it has few other similarities with the *Libellus*, and an entirely different partisanship, we believe it is a coincidence. See *Latin Continuation*, p. 50: 'With King Baldwin the Leper having gone the way of all flesh, Baldwin the Boy, the nephew of the aforesaid king, [was] now elevated to the kingship' (*Rege Baldewino leproso viam universi carne ingresso, Baldewinus puer, dicti regis nepos, iam sublimatus in regem*).

⁴ On the motif of the gates of Jerusalem, see Introduction, pp. 62. *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XI (p. 132) states that the gates were closed for fear that the barons, who had gathered at Nablus, might enter the city before Sibylla could be crowned; see also Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xvii (p. 27); Lyon *Eracles*, §17, p. 32 (trans. Edbury, p. 38). According to the Old French texts, the 'barons' in this context were the nobles and knights of the kingdom who answered the summons of Raymond of Tripoli and assembled at Nablus.

in reginam unxerunt, et^a dominum suum Gwidonem^b de Lizenan comitem Iopensem regem fecerunt,^a aliis clamantibus, ‘uoluntas dei^c est’, aliis econtra dicentibus, sepulcrum domini et Ierusalem cum pertinentiis suis propter hoc destruendum. Orta est denique dissensio in terra tam magna, ut uix duo consentirent in unum. Pauci cum rege, multi uel pene omnes cum comite Tripolitano et cum sociis suis parati erant inuicem inter se inire certamen. Sedatis tandem controuersiis sed non pacatis,^d malitia in cordibus utrorumque perdurante, parumper siluerunt. Hiis igitur tempestatibus irruentibus bitumine caritatis deficiente archa domini disiuncta et dissoluta est, atque aquis contradictionis^e irrumpentibus^e illi qui hereditatem crucifixi male tractabant,^f illam et suam et se ipsos perdiderunt.

^{a-a} in mg. in different hand C; -idonem, -item, -ecerunt missing due to trimming C ^b guidonem AP ^c interlin. A ^d peractis V ^{e-e} irrumpentibus contradictionis, marked for transposition with triple virgules C ^f tractabat P

countess of Jaffa, Sibylla by name, the daughter of King Amalric, and made king her lord [husband], Guy de Lusignan, the count of Jaffa, with some shouting, 'It is the will of God!', [and] others saying on the contrary that the Lord's Sepulchre and Jerusalem together with its estates would be destroyed because of this.⁵

After that, such great discord arose in the land that scarcely could two agree as one. A few men with the king [and] many or almost all with the count of Tripoli⁶ and his allies were prepared to go into battle against one another. When at length the disagreements had subsided but not been resolved, they were silent for a time, though malice endured in each of their hearts. As these storms swept in [and] the pitch of mutual love grew weak, the ark of the Lord was broken up and destroyed,⁷ and as the waters of contradiction burst in, those who were mishandling the inheritance of the Crucified One destroyed it, and their own [inheritance], and themselves.⁸

⁵ This passage refers to the following persons: Eraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem (1180–1191)—note that 'prince of the priests' appears to be an insult here; see Introduction, p. 22; Gerard de Ridefort, Grand Master of the Temple (1185–1189); Reynald de Châtillon, lord of Oultrejourdain (1176–1187), described as 'prince' because he was formerly prince of Antioch (1153–1160/1), who held Kerak (*le Crac de Montreal* or *Cracum Montis Regalis*) and Montréal (*Mons Regalis*), both of which were known as *al-Shawbak* in Arabic; Sibylla († 1190), countess of Jaffa and Ascalon (1176–90) and Queen of Jerusalem (1186–90), who was daughter of King Amalric, sister of King Baldwin IV, and mother of King Baldwin V; Guy de Lusignan, count of Jaffa and Ascalon (1180–91) and king of Jerusalem (r. 1186–1192) and Cyprus (r. 1192–1194). Baldwin of Ramla, brother of Balian of Ibelin, is said to have exclaimed 'The land is lost!' at Nablus upon hearing of the coronation: see *Ernoult-Bernard*, c. XI (p. 135); Lyon *Eraclius*, §18, p. 33 (trans. Edbury, p. 27).

⁶ Raymond III, count of Tripoli (1152–1187).

⁷ This extended metaphor derives from the ancient ecclesiological interpretation of Noah's Ark as an Old Testament prefiguration of the Church. In this analogy, the 'pitch of mutual love' (*bitumen caritatis*) connotes the pitch with which God instructed Noah to caulk the wooden planks used to build the Ark (Genesis 6:14). Generations of exegetical writers explicitly linked this physical *bitumen* and the binding force of mutual or fraternal love (*caritas*): see, for example, Augustine of Hippo, *Ad Catholicos epistola contra Donatistas*, in *PL*, vol. 43, col. 397–8. By seizing upon this image, the author also drew his audience's attention back to the opening motif of the Eastern Church (*orientalis ecclesia*) and its destruction.

⁸ This may be an echo of Ecclesiasticus 9:6: 'Give not thy soul to harlots in any point: lest thou destroy thyself and thy inheritance.' On the medieval concept of the Holy Land as the inheritance of Christ, see Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 35–48.

II *De inuasione terre Galilee*

Hiis ita^a male gestis, Saladinus^b cum suis satellitibus gauisus est ualde, sciens quod omne regnum diuisum desolabitur, exercitum copiosum congregauit, et in omnibus terris eius dominatui subiacentibus misit legatos dicens, ut omnis quicumque aurum, argentum, possessiones, domos, captiuos et captiuas habere uellet, ad eum properaret. Conuenerunt autem ex omni parte Turci, Cordini, Siri, Arabes, Alani, Cumanni, Caffechaki, Idumei, Turcmani,^c Beduini, Sarraceni, Egiptii, et illi qui habitabant^d [fol. 2v] in terra Lieman, et castra metati sunt in loco qui dicitur Rasseleme, quod interpretatur capud aque. Considerans autem Saladinus debilitatem^e christianorum,^e misit septem milia uirorum fortium ut terram Galilee depredarent, cogitans quod si isti pauci terram illam despoliassent, et sine dampno reuertissent, ceteri animosiores essent ad pugnam, et isti acriores. Igitur ministri iniquitatis sanguinem sanctorum sicientes sicut canes rabidi^f ad^g cadauer currentes, rapidissimo cursu in loco qui dicitur Cauan peruenierunt, ibique usque ad uesperum quieuerunt. Sole denique recedente, transierunt^h flumen, et uelud filii noctis etⁱ tenebrarum intempeste noctis silentio terram Galilee usque^j Cafram percurrentes^k pauperes christi perimentes, homines et mulieres cum copiosa multitudine iumentorum secum in captiuitatem trahentes, patrem illorum scilicet^l diabolum imitantes, qui quos in stratu carnis repperit quiescentes, et in peccatis suis dormientes,^m iugulat, et secum in foueam dampnationis trahit. Etⁿ quiaⁿ aurora ueritatis et sol iusticie non luxit eis, premissis captiuis cum preda non minima in ipso crepusculo, insidias suas usque ad quatuor milia uirorum in ualle Saforie posuerunt, ceteri uero per planiciem^o campi Cana^p Galilee substitere. Mane autem facto, speculatores ciuitatis Nazareht^q leuantes oculos et uidentes inimicos crucis Christi per concaua uallium huc illucque discurrentes, timore percussi, clamantes et uociferantes, ‘Ecce assunt Turci!’ ‘Ecce assunt!’^r uenerunt in ciuitatem. Hiis auditis, conclamabant per ciuitatem sub uoce preconia, ‘Viri Nazareni arripite arma, et pro loco ueri Nazarei fortiter^s dimiccate!’

^a itaque V ^b -la- interlin. A ^c turemanni AP, turcomanni with -o- interlin. V
^d habitant V ^{e-e} christianorum debilitatem V ^f altered from rapidi V, rapidi CAP
^g preceded by crossed out ad A ^h transsierunt AP, altered to transsierunt in different hand V ⁱ added in different hand A ^j usque ad V
^k per- semi-erased A ^l preceded by s<cilicet> A ^m followed by crossed out tes A
ⁿ⁻ⁿ Ex qua P ^o second -i- interlin. C ^p altered to chana in different hand V
^q nazaret A; nazareth P ^{r-r} interlin. in different hand A ^s altered from (?) firrtiter V

II *About the invasion of the land of Galilee*

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn⁹ and his followers rejoiced greatly at these misdeeds, knowing that every kingdom divided shall be made desolate. He gathered a copious army and sent messengers to all the lands subject to his rule, saying that anyone who wished to have gold, silver, possessions, houses, male captives, and female captives should hasten to him. From every region Turks, Kurds, Syrians, Arabs, Alans, Cumans, Qipchaks, Idumaeans, Turkmens, Bedouins, Saracens, Egyptians, and those who lived in the land of Lebanon came together and encamped in a place called **Ra's al-Mā'**, which is translated as 'Head of the Water'.¹⁰ Perceiving the weakness of the Christians, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sent 7,000 strong men to ravage the land of Galilee, thinking that, if these few could despoil that land and return without harm, his other men would be more fearless in battle, and these [7,000] more eager.¹¹

And so the servants of injustice, thirsting for the blood of the holy ones like rabid dogs running to a corpse, came by a very rapid journey to a place called **Cavan**, and there they rested until evening.¹² Then, as the sun was going down, they crossed the river, and, just like sons of night and darkness, [they overran] the land of Galilee in the silence of the dead of night as far as **Cafra**, slaying the poor of Christ, dragging off men and women with them into captivity along with a great number of beasts of burden, imitating their father, namely the Devil, who slaughters those whom he discovers resting in the bed of the flesh and sleeping in their sins, and drags [them] with him into the pit of damnation. And since the dawn of truth and the sun of justice did not shine on them, after they had sent the captives ahead with a not inconsiderable amount of booty, on that same evening up to 4,000 men set up their ambush in the valley of Ṣaffūrīyah, while the rest remained across the level ground of the field of **Cana of Galilee**.

When dawn had come, the watchmen of the city of Nazareth, raising their eyes and seeing the enemies of Christ's Cross running to and fro through the hollows of the valleys, came into the city struck by fear, shouting and calling out: 'Look, the Turks are here! Look, they are here!' When this had been heard, they proclaimed throughout the city through a herald: 'Men of Nazareth, take up arms and fight bravely for the place of the true Nazarene!'¹³

⁹ al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yusūf ibn Ayyūb, sultan of Egypt and Syria (1174–1193).

¹⁰ There is a similar list of Muslim ethnic groups in *IP1*, p. 256. On such lists generally, see Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross* (London, 2008), pp. 228–9. Place names given in bold type are discussed further in 'Appendix 2—Gazetteer'.

¹¹ This figure is also supplied by *IP1*, pp. 247–8.

¹² These passages bear some similarity with William of Tyre, 22.27(26), pp. 1050–51 (trans. vol. 2, p. 473), who in the context of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's invasion of 1182 mentions Ras el Ine, its translation 'head of the water', and Cavan. However, Lyons and Jackson (p. 256) state that in 1187 'Saladin was repeating almost exactly the opening move of his 1182 and 1183 campaigns', so the *Libellus* may not be influenced by William of Tyre here.

¹³ The 'true Nazarene' is Christ in medieval exegesis: see, for example, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Expositionis in Psalmos continuatio*, in *PL*, vol. 194, col. 147C.

III *De magistro milicie templi et magistro hospitalis*

Contigit autem eadem^a nocte magistrum milicie templi et magistrum hospitalis illuc aduenisse missos a^b rege et patriarcha cum duobus episcopis quatinus pacem et concordiam inter regem et comitem^c Tripolitanum honorifice tractarent, qui comes tunc temporis apud Tiberiadem^d morabatur. [fol. 3r] Tumultuante autem ciuitate, isti^e sunt expergefacti, et interrogauerunt quid hoc esset. Dictumque est eis a narrantibus quod Turci uiam per quam ituri essent Tiberiadem^f preoccupauerant.^g Tunc magister milicie templi socios suos ita affatus est: ‘Fratres dilectissimi et commilitones mei, uos semper istis^h uanis et caducis restitistis, uindictam ex eis exegistis,ⁱ de ipsis semper uictoriam^j habuistis. Accingite ergo uos et state in prelio domini et memores estote patrum uestrorum Machabeorum quorum uicem bellandi pro ecclesia, pro lege, pro hereditate crucifixi iam dudum subistis. Scitote uero patres uestros non tam multitudine, apparatu armato, quam fide et iusticia, et obseruatione mandatorum dei, uictores ubique fuisse, quia non est difficile uel in multis uel in paucis uincere, quando uictoria e celo est.’ Qui omnes uno ore dixerunt: ‘Nos quidem prompti et parati sumus pro Christo mortem subire qui morte sua preciosa nos redemit, hoc scientes siue uiuimus siue morimur^k in nomine Iesu semper esse uictores.’ Interim magister hospitalis uir bonus et pius fratres et populum benigne alloquitur: ‘Fratres karissimi et semper amici ne terreamini^l ab hiis canibus rugientibus qui hodie florēt, cras quoque in stagnum ignis^m et sulphuris mittentur. Vos autem estis

^a corrected from eandem A ^b ad A ^c Reimundum add. in mg. in different hand C, Reimundum comitem AVP ^d tiberiadis AP, altered from tiberiadis V
^e corrected from istis V ^f abbreviation added above -e in different ink V, tiberiade CAP
^g preoccupauarant with second -a- expunctuated and corrected to -e- C
^h istis uos A ⁱ exigistis CAP, corrected from exigistis V ^j om., with satis interlin.
in different hand V ^k followed by domini sumus (crossed out) V ^l corrected from terreamimur or terreamimus A ^m preceded by expunctuated ignis C

III *About the master of Order of the Temple, and the master of the Hospital*

Now, it happened that the master of the Order of the Temple and the master of the Hospital had come there that same night, sent by the king and the patriarch with two bishops so that they might honorably arrange peace and concord between the king and the count of Tripoli, who at that time was staying at Tiberias.¹⁴ With the city in uproar, however, they were woken up, and they asked what was going on. They were told by messengers that the Turks had already seized the road by which they were about to go to Tiberias.

Then the master of the Order of the Temple addressed his companions in this way: ‘My dearest brothers and fellow soldiers, you have always withstood these deceitful and fallen ones; you have exacted vengeance on them; you have always had victory over them. Therefore, gird yourselves, and stand firm in the Lord’s battle, and remember your fathers, the Maccabees, whose duty of fighting for the Church, for the Law, [and] for the inheritance of the Crucified One you have now taken upon yourselves for a long time. But know that your fathers were victors everywhere not so much by numbers or in arms, as through faith, and justice, and observance of God’s commands, since it is not difficult to triumph either with many [men] or few when victory is from heaven.’¹⁵

They all spoke with one voice: ‘We are indeed ready and prepared to suffer death for Christ, who by his precious death redeemed us, knowing that, whether we live or die, we are always victors in the name of Jesus!’

Meanwhile, the master of the Hospital, a good and pious man, spoke pleasantly to his brothers and the people: ‘Dearest brothers, and friends always, do not be afraid of these growling dogs who flourish today [but] will tomorrow be cast into a pool of fire and brimstone.’¹⁶ You, however, are

¹⁴ Roger des Moulins, Grand Master of the Hospital (1177–1187). On the two bishops, see below, c. VI. According to *Ernouf-Bernard*, c. XII (p. 114), Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xxv–vi (pp. 36–7, 39), and Lyon *Eracles*, §25, pp. 38–9 (trans. Edbury, pp. 31–3), they were at La Fève (al-Fulah) that night, and they travelled from La Fève to Nazareth the next day. From there they went to the Springs of Cresson, where they fought with the Muslims. It is around 18 km from La Fève to Cresson via Nazareth. The Old French sources state that Gerard de Ridefort and Roger des Moulins were accompanied by Balian of Ibelin, Reynald of Sidon, and Archbishop Joscius of Tyre. Reynald of Sidon is said to have gone by another road, while Balian of Ibelin stayed at Nablus.

¹⁵ On the meaning and biblical resonances of these passages, see Introduction, pp. 51–2.

¹⁶ This is the fate of Satan, the beast, and the false prophet in Revelation 20:9.

genus electum, gens sancta, populus acquisitionis; uos estis eterni quia cum eterno regnaturi. Ergo ne^a timeatis^b neque paueatis, sed mementote Abraham, qui cum^c .CCC. uernaculis quatuor reges persecutus est atque percussit et predam excussit, cui reuertenti^d a cede .IIII. regum occurrit rex Salem Melchisedech^e offerens panem et uinum atque benedictionem^f dedit. Ecce et uobis .IIII. uiciis^g capitalibus in uirtute trinitatis superatis occurret rex Salem id est rex^h iusticie uerus sacerdos Iesus Christus offerens panem satietatis eterne, et uinum redemptionis perpetue, insuper et benedictionemⁱ infundet, ut amodo uoluptatibus carnis non seruiatis.⁷

^a written over erasure V ^b -ti- interlin. A ^c followed by an erasure of approximately four letters V ^d corrected from reuertentis, with first -t- interlin. A; medial -r- added in different hand V ^e melchisedec A, -h added by different hand V ^f benedictione C, -m expunctuated A ^g uices, with -ii- interlin. A ^h interlin. in lighter ink A ⁱ -c- interlin. A

a chosen generation, a holy nation, a purchased people.¹⁷ You are eternal, because you are going to reign with the Eternal One. Therefore, do not fear or tremble, but remember Abraham, who pursued and struck down the four kings with 300 servants, and seized the spoils.¹⁸ Melchizedek, king of Salem, came to meet him as he was returning from the slaughter of the four kings, offering bread and wine, and gave a blessing. Look: having overcome the four capital vices in the power of the Trinity, the king of Salem, namely the King of Justice, the true priest Jesus Christ, will come to meet you too, offering the bread of eternal satiety and the wine of perpetual redemption.¹⁹ Furthermore, he will pour out [his] blessing so that you may no longer be enslaved by the pleasures of the flesh.’

¹⁷ 1 Peter 2:9: ‘But you are a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people...’.

¹⁸ Genesis 14 describes the victory of Abram (later Abraham) over Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Pontus, Chedorlaomer, king of the Elamites, and Tidal, ‘king of nations’, who had collectively overthrown the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah and seized Abram’s nephew, Lot. The allusion reinforces the point that small armies can be victorious through divine aid.

¹⁹ The story of Melchizedek appears in Genesis 14:17–20. In Hebrews 5:6–10 (alluding to Psalm 109:4), 6:20, 7:1–17, Melchizedek is presented as a prefiguration of Christ. In general, although the notion of seven main vices seems to have predominated in the Middle Ages, the precise number and nature of the capital vices varied over time and in different contexts. For example, in his *Commentarius in Genesin*, c. XIV, the Carolingian exegete Angelomus of Luxeuil identified the four kings as representing the ‘four principal vices’ (*quatuor vitia principalia*) of ‘avarice, [sensual] delight, fear, and sadness’ (*cupiditas, gaudium, timor, et tristitia*): in *PL*, vol. 115, col. 174D.

IV *De pugna inter christianis et Sarracenos habita*

Hoc dicto omnes alacri corde arma arripuerunt, direxerunt acies licet paruas et cum omni [fol. 3v] hilaritate^a contra hostes processerunt. Cum uero planitiem campi nostri christiani attigerunt, barbari quasi timore perculti^b fugam simulantes milites nostros ultro persequentes longe a seruiantibus^c protraxerunt, quatinus milites a peditibus separatos sine timore sagittarum sagittis interficerent, et pedites absque pauore lancearum et gladii, sagittis et gladiis^d et maceis ferreis occiderent.^e Cum autem per longa spacia campi essent diuisi, insidie Sarracenorum de latibulis proruperunt, milites et pedites in duas partes diuiserunt, ut nec isti illis, nec illi istis mutuo adiutorio adiuuant. Igitur commissum est prelium satis durum et inequale, quia nostri non erant amplius^f quam milites centum .XXX. et quadringenti^g uel .CCC. pedites et inuicem miserabiliter separati. Tamen multitudo paganorum nec copiose pharetre sagittarum terrebant nostros, quin fortiter latera Sarracenorum lanceis perfodiendo, fulgurantibus gladiis uerberando dimicassent.^h Igitur cadebant percussiⁱ plangebant uulnerati, sanguinem fundebant semiuiui, ad inferos descendebant mortui, stupebant corde et labiis incircumcisi, tam paucos milites contra tam magnam^j turbam posse certamen subire.

^a ilaritate CA, altered from ilaritate V, hylaritate P ^b followed by ⁱad (crossed out) A, percussi V ^c written over partial erasure V ^d corrected from glagiis V ^e -i- partially erased ^f followed by quam amplius (crossed out) A ^g corrected from quinginti, with -drin- added in mg. in different hand and -i- erased and replaced by -e- A ^h altered to dimicarent V ⁱ per- written over erasure V ^j preceded by paucam (crossed out) P

IV *About the battle fought between the Christians and the Saracens*

After this was said, they all took up arms glad at heart, drew up [their] battle array, though small, and advanced against the enemy with every joy.

When our Christians reached the level ground of the field, the barbarians, feigning flight as if struck with fear,²⁰ drew forward our pursuing knights far from the sergeants, so that, without fear of arrows [being shot at them in return], [the barbarians] might kill with arrows the knights separated from the foot soldiers, and, without fear of [the knights'] lances and swords, might kill the foot soldiers with arrows, swords, and iron maces. But when [the Christians] had been divided over a wide area of the field, the ambush of the Saracens burst forth from the flanks and split the knights and foot soldiers into two groups, so that neither could assist the other at all.

Then a very tough and unequal battle was joined, since our men numbered no more than 130 knights and 300 or 400 foot soldiers, and they were wretchedly separated from each other.²¹ Yet neither the great number of pagans nor their quivers full of arrows terrified our men from fighting bravely, piercing the sides of the Saracens with lances and striking them with their swords [like] lightning. Those who were struck fell down and the wounded wailed; those who were half-alive poured out their blood; the dead descended to hell.

Those who were uncircumcised in their hearts and on their lips were astounded that so few knights could sustain battle against such a great

²⁰ On feigned flight as a tactic used by the Turkish armies, see R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097–1193*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 75–87.

²¹ *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XII (p. 146) and *Lyon Eracles*, §25, p. 37 (trans. Edbury, p. 32) initially state that there were 130 knights in total, comprising 40 knights from the royal garrison at Nazareth, 10 Hospitallers, and 80 Templars. Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xxvi (p. 39) reports that there were 90 Templars, giving a total of 140 knights; *Ernoul-Bernard* and *Lyon Eracles* subsequently give the same number, thus seeming to contradict themselves. In his letter to Baldwin of Canterbury on 3 September 1187, Pope Urban III says that there were only 110 knights: see Rudolf Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande, Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius III* [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge 136] (Göttingen, 1985), pp. 324–7 (n° 149).

Et quia congressus et concursus militum Turci non potuerunt sufferre, seruientibus interfectis conglobati sunt in unum cuneum, dantes^a fremitum et ululatum, undique nostros circumsederunt, uno^b animo super christianos impetum fecerunt. Milites denique^c Christi turba barbarorum constipati ita sunt in unum collecti, ut nec cursibus equorum nec ictibus lancearum aditum exeundi uel euadendi poterant aperire. Crudele spectaculum^d et omnibus christianis cum fletu plangendum, stabant sancti quasi agni sine balatu, inter rabidissimos^{e,f} lupos^f iam deo oblaturi, quatinus sole calescente ignis diuinus hostias pacificorum consumeret^g. Enimuero tempore ueris erat, estate iam appropinquante, flores uinee, id est ecclesie, odorem dederunt, et ortus conclusus de fonte signato irrigatus rubicundas et suauiissimas sponso iam dudum **[fol. 4r]** inter candorem liliorum quiescenti optulit rosas. Aduersarii autem sanctorum et deo odibiles undique sanctos expugnantes alios sagittis perforabant, et uulnera uulneribus imprimebant, alios gladiis cedebant, alios maceis ferreis quasabant. Inter hec magister milicie templi uidens quod traditi essent ad mortem, et nulla spes salutis superesset, quassatus maceis fugiendo uiuus euasit.

^a preceded by et (interlin. in different ink) V ^b -que interlin. in different ink V ^c uero, with denique interlin. and then erased V ^d -e- interlin. A
^e altered from rapidissimos V, rapidissimos CAP ^{f-f} altered to lupos rabidissimos V ^g -t written over erasure V

throng.²² And since the Turks could not endure the knights' attacks and charges, they joined together in one body after the sergeants had been killed. Growling and howling, they surrounded our men on all sides, and with one mind they rushed against the Christians. At last, the knights of Christ, pressed together by the throng of barbarians, were gathered in such a way that they could not fashion a means of exit or escape either by cavalry charges or lance thrusts.

A cruel spectacle, and one that all Christians should lament with weeping! The holy ones stood like lambs without bleating among the most rabid wolves, now about to make an offering to God, so that, with the sun growing hot, the divine fire might consume the sacrifices of peace-offerings. Indeed, it was springtime, with summer already approaching: the flowers of the vine (that is, of the Church) yielded their sweet smell, and the sheltered garden watered by the enclosed fountain brought forth red and very sweet roses for the spouse resting there long before among the whiteness of the lilies.²³

The enemies of the holy ones, who were hateful to God, assaulting the holy ones from every side, pierced some with arrows, inflicted wounds upon wounds, cut down some with swords, and battered others with iron maces. While all this was happening, the master of the Order of the Temple, battered by maces, and seeing that they had been handed over to death and that no hope of deliverance remained, escaped alive by fleeing.²⁴

²² Circumcision was a key sign of the covenant between God and Abraham (Genesis 17:9–14). Medieval Christians, however, did not practice circumcision, believing baptism to have superseded circumcision and taking circumcision figuratively as ‘circumcision not made by hand ... but the circumcision of Christ’: Colossians 2:11–12 (see also Acts 15). However, medieval Muslims did circumcise and medieval Christians frequently used circumcision to disparage both Islam and Judaism. In Chapter XIX, below, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn offers the Christians captured at Acre a choice between departing safely or remaining in Acre, converting to Islam, and circumcising themselves as a sign of their new allegiance to Islam. The author therefore distinguishes between the Muslims as physically circumcised but spiritually uncircumcised in heart and lips (as in Exodus 6:12, 30; Jeremiah 9:26; Ezekiel 44:7, 44:9; Acts 7:51), that is, (in his conception) lacking correct belief and professing false faith. See Kathryn Kueny, ‘Circumcision (Khitan)’ in Josef W. Meri (ed.), *Medieval Islamic Civilisation: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 2006), 2 vols, here vol. 1, pp. 156–7.

²³ On the meaning behind this complex passage, see Introduction, pp. 52–3.

²⁴ According to *Ernoul-Bernard* and the *Eracles*, Gerard escaped with two or three other Templar knights (the precise number is not entirely clear): see *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XII (p. 147); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xxvi (p. 40); Lyon *Eracles*, §25, p. 39 (trans. Edbury, p. 32).

V *De nece^a magistri hospitalis*

Magister uero sancte domus hospitalis uir pius et bone misericordie uisceribus semper affluens, ne coronam presentem^b perderet nec aliquid de mercede^c eterne^d retributionis minueret, instabat intrepidus.^d Et quoniam perfecta caritas^e foris mittit timorem,^f athleta^g uictoriosus milia populi se circumdantis non timuit, quia laboris sui remuneratorem^h mente et spiritu in celo uidit. Perforatus igiturⁱ undique ictibus sagittarum acutissimis, et proprio cruore perfusus insuper data lancea per medium pectoris martir et uictor capitis abscisione deum^j glorificauit. Proh dolor, patrem orphanorum, susceptorem et uisitatorem^k infirmorum, elemosinarum largitorem, sue carnis et uiciorum uictorem, precursoris domini dispensatorem, dei et sanctorum amicum occiderunt. O pauperes et menbra Christi, super hoc plangite. Quid facietis capite ablato? Filie Galilee et Nazareth, id est, transmigrationis et mundicie,^l assumite^m planctum, quia amator castitatis et mundicie^m ut uosⁿ Ierusalem, id est, uisioni^o pacis, pacificaret, in Cana Galilee, id est, in celo transmigrationis, migravit. Ve tibi Tiberias, ve tibi Bethsayda, quia inter montes superbie tue humilis rector humilium occisus est.

^a morte AP ^b om. V ^c followed by interlin. uel A ^{d-d} instabat intrepidus eterne retributionis minueret marked for transposition with double and triple virgules C ^e karitas P ^f added in mg. in later hand CV, omnem timorem in mg. A, omnem timorem P ^g alhleta CAVP ^h remuneracionem P ⁱ eius igitur, with eius crossed out and igitur added in mg. A ^j written over erasure V, domini A ^k -ta- interlin. in different hand V ^l mundicionis P ^{m-m} om. V ⁿ nos V ^o uisionis with -s expunctuated A, uisionis P

V *About the death of the master of the Hospital*

But the master of the holy house of the Hospital, a pious man who always had an abundance of good mercy within, stepped forward undaunted, so that he might not lose the crown at hand and nothing might detract from the wages of eternal reward.²⁵ And since perfect love casts out fear,²⁶ the victorious champion did not fear the thousands in the host surrounding him, since in mind and spirit he saw the rewarder of his suffering in heaven. Then, pierced everywhere by the jabs of the sharpest arrows, covered in his own blood, and also having taken a spear through the middle of his chest, the martyr and victor glorified God in the cutting off of his head.

Oh, the grief! They slaughtered a father of orphans, a guardian and visitor of the sick, a dispenser of alms, a victor over his own flesh and vices, a steward of the forerunner of the Lord,²⁷ a friend of God and of the saints.²⁸ Oh poor ones and members of Christ,²⁹ lament on this! What will you do now that your head has been removed? Daughters of Galilee and Nazareth (that is, of ‘transmigration’ and ‘cleanness’), take up lamentation, since the lover of chastity and cleanness has departed into **Cana of Galilee** (that is, into the ‘heaven of transmigration’), so that he might make a peace offering to you, Jerusalem (that is, the ‘vision of peace’).³⁰ Woe to you, Tiberias, and woe to you, **Bethsaida**, since among the mountains of your pride a humble

²⁵ The ‘crown at hand’ refers to the ‘crown of life’ (*corona vitae*), that is, eternal life in heaven. James 1:12 notes that it is reserved for ‘the man that endureth temptation ... when he hath been proved’, while Revelation 2:10 says that those who are ‘faithful until death’ shall receive it.

²⁶ 1 John 4:18: ‘Fear is not in charity, but perfect charity casteth out fear, because fear hath pain.’ Charity (*caritas*), that is, love of others, is the main theme of John 4. The author implies that Roger des Moulins has no fear because God’s charity has been perfected in him through his love for others.

²⁷ The ‘forerunner of the Lord’ is John the Baptist, namesake of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem. As master of the Order, Roger was effectively a ‘steward’ of John himself.

²⁸ These attributes appear to reflect the functions of the Order of the Hospital and its reputation for them.

²⁹ 1 Corinthians 6:15. Note that ‘servant of the poor of Christ’ (*pauperum Christi minister*) was a title adopted by the master of the Hospital in documents: see, for example, RRRH n° 1142.

³⁰ On the author’s interpretation of place names, see Introduction, pp. 59–60.

Interim flete, quoniam uos estis causa fletus et materia. Heu, heu, quis potest dicere uel cogitare quante tristicie et^a anxietates^b tenuerint corda sanctorum, cum hinc alios uidissent stantes sanguine proprio perfusos, illinc alios mole morientium fratrum^c oppressos, hinc alios cruorem suum bibentes, et sitis ariditate morientes, illinc alios de corporibus suis tela et uitam cum sagittis extrahentes?

^a preceded by *erased et V* ^b *anxietatis AP, corrected from anxietatis V*
^c preceded by *fre (expunctuated and crossed out) V*

teacher of the humble has been cut down. Weep for a time, since you are the cause and subject of weeping.³¹

Alas, alas! Who is able to say or imagine how many sorrows and anxious cares seized the hearts of the holy ones, when here they saw some standing covered in their own blood, there others overwhelmed in a mass of dying brothers; here some drinking their own blood and dying from the dryness of thirst, there others pulling missiles from their bodies, and [their own] life together with the arrows?

³¹ In Matthew 11:21 and Luke 10:13, Christ rebukes Chorazin and Bethsaida for failing to do penance in his response to his miracles. The author has substituted Tiberias for Chorazin, presumably as a veiled reference to the treasonous dealings of Raymond of Tripoli, who was lord of Tiberias, with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, which included allowing Muslim troops to garrison the city, and safe passage into Christian territory prior to the Battle of Cresson: see Baldwin, *Raymond III*, pp. 83–5 (esp. n. 35); Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 246–52; Lewis, *Counts of Tripoli*, pp. 264–7. See also the *Gazetteer* entry on **Bethsaida**.

VI *De admirabili pugna duorum militum*

Omnibus iam pene morte crudelissima consumptis,^a [fol. 4v] inter ceteros restabant duo, quorum auxilio ceteri stabant. Stabant isti et instabant hostes uiriliter impugnando.^b Quorum alter nomine Iakelin de Mayli marescallus milicie templi, uir armis strenuus, alter uero Henricus frater hospitalis, miles et preliator fortissimus. Horum primus bellator nobilissimus quasi leena^c seuiens raptis catulis unguibus scindens^d et fodiens atque quicquid obiectum fuerit ore crudeli dilacerans, sic signifer noster frendens spiritu quemcumque potest attingere in ruinam mortis et precipitium^e dampnationis ruit. Et sicut aper crudelis circumdatus canibus dentibus suis quodcumque obuium habuerit discerpens atque dilanians, ita sequens gladiator noster ferocissimus scindendo^f et occidendo homicidas impiissimos^g mittit ad inferos. Stupent autem^h tonsi inⁱ fronte, progenies scilicet Ysmael, et sine periculo mortis ad eos non credebant esse accessus. Igitur stabant procul filii Babilonis et Sodomorum, lanceas, tela,

^a corrected from consumptus A ^b impugnando C ^c corrected from leena A
^d cindens C, corrected from cindens A ^e precipucium V ^f cindendo CAP, corrected from cindendo V ^g corrected from impiissimus V ^h etiam AP ⁱ in margin C

VI *About the wondrous fight of two knights*

After almost everybody had been consumed by a most cruel death, there remained two with whose help the others stood firm. These [two] stood firm and pressed forward, manfully attacking the enemy, one of whom was Jakelin de Mailly by name, the marshal of the Order of the Temple, a man vigorous in arms;³² the other was Henry, a brother of the Hospital, a very brave knight and fighter.³³ The former, a most renowned warrior, like a raging lioness who has lost her cubs, ripping and stabbing with her claws and tearing to pieces³⁴ whatever is thrown into her savage mouth—so our standard bearer [Jakelin], gnashing in spirit, hurled anybody within his reach into the ruin of death and the precipice of damnation. And like a savage boar surrounded by dogs, mangling and shredding to pieces with his teeth whatever was in his way—so the latter [Henry], our most ferocious champion, sends the most impious murderers to hell by cleaving and cutting them down.

Cut down in the vanguard, the offspring of Ishmael³⁵ were astounded, and they did not believe that there was a means of approach to [Jakelin and Henry] without risk of death. Therefore the sons of Babylon and Sodom³⁶

³² On Jakelin de Mailly (also known as ‘Jacques’ or ‘Jacqueline’), see Jochen Burgtorf, *The central convent of Hospitallers and Templars: history, organization, and personnel (1099/1120–1310)*, History of Warfare 50 (Leiden, 2008), pp. 576–77. *IP1*, pp. 248–49 and (copying it verbatim) *Latin Continuation*, I.xii (pp. 67–8) offer a similarly heroic and even slightly more detailed account of Jakelin’s last stand, though neither source mentions Henry. The Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xxvi (p. 40) and Lyon *Eracles*, §25, p. 38 (trans. Edbury, p. 32) recount a waspish exchange between Jakelin and Gerard de Ridefort prior to the Battle of Cresson, in which Jakelin questions the worth of the Christians’ intended attack and Gerard calls him a coward. Burgtorf argues convincingly that Jakelin was merely a knight (as in *IP1* and other contemporary sources) rather than the marshal of the Temple (as in the *Libellus* and the *Eracles*).

³³ This Henry cannot be identified with certainty. The only serious candidate is Henry de S. Boneto (perhaps ‘of Saint-Bonnet’), who appears as a witness in documents dated 25 December 1183 × early June 1184 (RRRH n° 1142) and 1 × 30 April 1185 (RRRH n° 1155).

³⁴ Hosea 13:7–8. The Templars are equated with lions in Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, trans. M. Conrad Greenia (Kalamazoo, MI, 2000), I, p. 34.

³⁵ Ishmael was Abraham’s son by Hagar, sent into the wilderness by Abraham after the weaning of Isaac, his son by Sarah: see Genesis 16–18, 21. Medieval Christians regarded Ishmael as progenitor of the Arabs, thus explaining why they were also frequently referred to Muslims as ‘Hagarenes’: see Katharine Scarfe Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 90–3.

³⁶ The Babylonians conquered Israel under Nebuchadnezzar in 605 BCE and carried off the Israelites into captivity in Babylon from 588 to 535 BCE. In Genesis 18–19, God destroys Sodom and Gomorrah for their sins.

sagittas in martiribus Christi ut eos morti traderent undique mittentes. At illi gaudenter^a susceperunt ictus, ut mererentur accipere coronam uite. Bellatores igitur incliti et amici dei pondere tanti laboris fatigati, atque multitudine armorum oppressi, martirio Christum glorificantes, glorioso fine quieuerunt. Demum heredes Canaan,^b latratibus^c canum latrantes, et per totum campum polluto ore perstrepenes clamabant:^d ‘Uicti sunt, uicti sunt qui uicerunt!’ Et quoniam uiuentes non audebant attendere, ad corpora in solo sine anima et spiritu iacentia accedebant et minutatim in frustra^e scindentes^f dispergebant per campum. Omnibus itaque morte uel captiuitate consumptis, reuersi sunt filii Edom^g per locum qui uocatur Til, ubi Iordanis influit in mare, per ripam maris Galilee in medio itinere^h Tiberiadis et Iaphep iuxta mensam deⁱ qua non erant pransuri, ubi scilicet dominus Iesus de .V. panibus et duobus piscibus saciauit .V. milia hominum, ibique pernactantes, spolia sanctorum cruentis manibus diuiserunt. Et quia prima dies Maii erat qua^j flores et rose colligi solebant, uiri Nazareni colligebant [fol. 5r] corpora christianorum et sepelierunt ea in cimiterio beate Marie in

^a altered to gaudentes A, gaudentes P ^b canaam C ^c more written over erasure in different hand V ^d add. in mg. in different hand V ^e frustra AP, corrected from frustra V ^f cindentes CA, sindentes P ^g eodem corrected to edem A, eodem P ^h corrected from itineris V ⁱ interlin. A ^j in qua V

stood at a distance, hurling spears, missiles, and arrows at the martyrs of Christ from all sides to deliver them to death; but [the Christians] joyfully received the blows so that they might deserve to receive the crown of life.³⁷ Then the renowned warriors and friends of God, exhausted by the weight of such a great labour, and oppressed by the multitude of weapons, came to rest in a glorious end, glorifying Christ in martyrdom. At last, the heirs of Canaan,³⁸ barking in the manner of dogs and making a great noise across the entire plain, called out: ‘They are defeated! Those who defeated [us] are defeated!’ And because they dared not draw near [Jakelin and Henry] while they were alive, they approached the bodies lying alone bereft of life and soul, and, cutting them bit by bit into pieces, they scattered them across the plain.³⁹

After all [of the Christians] had been destroyed by death or captivity, the sons of Edom⁴⁰ returned via a place called **Til**, where the Jordan flows into the sea through the shore of the Sea of Galilee, in the middle of the route between Tiberias and **Japhep**, next to **the Table**, from which they were not about to eat (that is, where the Lord Jesus sated five thousand people with five loaves of bread and two fish). Staying the night there, they shared out the spoils of the holy ones with bloodstained hands.⁴¹

And because it was the first day of May, on which flowers and roses were customarily gathered,⁴² the men of Nazareth gathered up the bodies of the Christians and buried them in the cemetery of [the Church of] the Blessed

³⁷ On the crown of life, see above, n. 25.

³⁸ Canaan was the fourth son of Noah’s son Ham and regarded as the ancestor of the Phoenicians. He was cursed because of Ham’s irreverent and unfilial conduct: see Genesis 9:20–7; 1 Chronicles 1:8.

³⁹ This may be an echo of the curious story in *IP1*, p. 249 that ‘a certain man’ (neither named nor described) was so impressed by Jakelin’s prowess that he cut off the dead knight’s penis and planned to use it to conceive an heir.

⁴⁰ Edom or Esau was the first-born son of Isaac and twin brother of Jacob, who sold his birthright to Jacob for a mess of red pottage (the word *edom* signifying ‘red’): see Genesis 25:29–34.

⁴¹ The miracle of the Feeding of the Five Thousand is described in Matthew 14:13–21; Mark 6:32–44; Luke 9:10–17; and John 6:1–14. See the Gazetteer entry on **The Table**.

⁴² 1 May was considered the beginning of summer. It was the day of the old pagan ‘May Day’ festival celebrated by the laity, in which flowers featured prominently: see Robert T. Lambdin and Laura C. Lambdin (eds), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature* (New York, 2000), pp. 193–4. *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XII (p. 148) and the other Old French texts also note that the Battle of Cresson took place on 1 May.

Nazareth, et fecerunt planctum magnum super interfectos, dicentes: ‘Heu, heu, quid contigit nobis?’ Ergo filie Nazareth^a et Galilee,^b multiplicatae planctum, augete fletum, quia insanabilis^c est dolor uester. O Syon,^d specula summi regis, annuntia in Ierusalem et in Iudea que uidisti ut et ipsi sumant planctum quoniam uastitas et desolatio imminet^e eis. Hiis ita^f gestis comes Reimundus Tripolitanus super hoc contristatus est usque ad mortem, dicens: ‘Ne aliquis putet propter me uel per me hoc factum esse, uadam et subiciam me regi et regine et senioribus Ierusalem, insuper et quicquid iusserint faciam.’ Igitur qui relictis fuerant, archiepiscopus^g scilicet^g Tyrensis et archiepiscopus Nazarensis^h et magister templi, miserunt nuntios in Ierusalem ad regemⁱ dicentes: ‘Condoluit comes satis super interfectionem^j magistri hospitalis^k et ceterorum ideoque uenturus est nobiscum in Ierusalem tibi subiciendus, omnibus querelis sopitis, et tu bene fac ad ipsius

^a nazaret CAV ^b -li- interlin. A ^c corrected from insanabiles AV, insaciabilis P ^d sion A ^e iminet CAV ^f itaque V ^{g-g} scilicet archiepiscopus V ^h altered to nazarensis V ⁱ -ge- added above line V ^j infectione CA, altered to interfeccione V, interfeccionem P ^k preceded by temp (crossed out) V

Mary in Nazareth,⁴³ and made great mourning over the dead, saying: ‘Oh, alas! What has happened to us?’ So, daughters of Nazareth and Galilee, multiply your lamentation, increase your weeping, because your sorrow is incurable. O Zion, watchtower of the Highest King, declare in Jerusalem and in Judea what you have seen, so that they themselves may also take up lamentation, because devastation and desolation threatens them.⁴⁴

After these things had been done, Count Raymond of Tripoli was saddened to the point of death about this, saying: ‘So that nobody may think that this has happened because of me or through me, I will go and subject myself to the king and queen and lords of Jerusalem; moreover, I shall do whatever they command.’⁴⁵ Then those who had been left behind (that is, the archbishop of Tyre, the archbishop of Nazareth, and the master of the Order of the Temple)⁴⁶ sent messengers to the king in Jerusalem, saying: ‘The count has suffered enough over the death of the master of the Hospital and the others, and therefore he is about to come with us to Jerusalem to subject himself to you, with all complaints laid to rest; and you would do well to

⁴³ This extends the metaphor in Chapter IV that likens the martyred Christians to roses. On the Church of Mary in Nazareth, see Pringle, *Churches*, II, 20. *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XII (pp. 151–2), Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eraclès*, XXIII.xxix (p. 44), and Lyon *Eraclès*, §28, p. 41 (trans. Edbury, p. 34) confirm that Balian of Ibelin had the bodies recovered and buried in Nazareth.

⁴⁴ For ‘watchtower’ or ‘lookout’ as the meaning of ‘Zion’, see Jerome, *Liber interpretationis*, p. 122. This passage also references Jeremiah 4:5: “‘Declare ye in Judah, and make it heard in Jerusalem...’”, 1 John 1:3: ‘... that which we have seen and heard we declare unto you...’, and Ecclesiasticus 42:15: ‘I will now remember the works of the Lord, and I will declare the things I have seen.’

⁴⁵ *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XII (p. 152) has a very similar description here.

⁴⁶ Joscius, archbishop of Tyre (c. 1186–1202); Letard II, archbishop of Nazareth (1158–90). Presumably, these are the ‘two bishops’ who are said in Chapter III to have been sent with Gerard of Ridefort and Roger des Moulins by King Guy and Patriarch Eraclius to make peace with Raymond of Tripoli. *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XII (p. 152), Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eraclès*, XXIII.xxix (pp. 44–5), and Lyon *Eraclès*, §28, pp. 41–2 (trans. Edbury, pp. 34–5) say that Balian of Ibelin and Joscius of Tyre went from Tiberias to Jerusalem with Raymond. A charter witnessed by Letard at Tyre dated between 4 July and 10 August 1187 suggests he proceeded to Tyre: Mayer, *UKJ* 3:1339–43, no. 769 (RRRH n° 659). Another of October 1187 has him in Tyre also: Mayer, *UKJ*, 2:866–9 (RRRH, n° 666). Gerard, of course, had not ‘been left behind’ at Nazareth with Joscius and Letard, but escaped from the battle, as noted in Chapter IV.

honorem^a nobis occurrendo.' Hoc audito surrexit rex Guido Lisinensis^b cum multitudine militum et turcopolorum^c et occurrit comiti. Obuiauerunt autem sibi rex et comes in campo magno Dotaym^d iuxta cisternam Ioseph. Ibi uero uterque descendens in terram astantibus episcopis, et militibus templi, et militibus hospitalis, et baronibus terre cum uniuersis populis et gaudentibus, amplexati sunt et deosculati,^e atque iunctis lateribus perrexerunt ambo pariter in Ierusalem, et illic fecit homagium regi et regine condonantibus inuicem querelis.^f Omnibus ergo bene compositis adorata uiuifica^g cruce reuersus est comes Tiberiadem,^h rex uero permansit in Ierusalem causa congregandi exercitum.

^a -on- interlin. in different hand A ^b corrected from lisixiensis V
^c turcoplorum CP, second -o- expunctuated A, corrected from turcoplorum V
^d dothaym P ^e followed by sunt (crossed out) A ^f altered to querelas V
^g corrected from uiuificata V ^h abbreviation expanded to tyberiadem V

honour him by meeting us.⁴⁷ Having heard this, King Guy de Lusignan rose with a great many knights and turcoples and went to meet the count.

The king and the count met each other on the great plain of Dothan next to the **Cistern of Joseph**.⁴⁸ And there, each of them dismount[ed], with the bishops and the knights of the Temple and the knights of the Hospital standing by, and the barons of the land also rejoicing with all the people, and they embraced and kissed warmly;⁴⁹ and side-by-side they both proceeded straight to Jerusalem together, and there [the count] did homage to the king and queen, each of them letting rest their grievances. When everything was properly settled and they had worshipped the life-giving Cross, the count returned to Tiberias, but the king remained in Jerusalem to assemble an army.

⁴⁷ See also *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XII (pp. 152–3); *Colbert-Fontainebleau Eracles*, XXIII.xxix (pp. 44–5); *Lyon Eracles*, §28, pp. 41–2 (trans. Edbury, pp. 34–6). Reinhold Röhricht believed that this passage was so clear and concise that it might represent the original message: *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100–1291)* (Innsbruck, 1898), p. 427, n. 2.

⁴⁸ In Genesis 37:17–34, Joseph meets his brothers at Dothan, where they cast him into an old cistern. See the Gazetteer entry on the **Cistern of Joseph**. The author may be making an implicit contrast between the betrayal carried out by Joseph's brothers and the harmony effected through Raymond and Guy's reconciliation.

⁴⁹ *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XII (p. 153), *Colbert-Fontainebleau Eracles*, XXIII.xxix (p. 45), and *Lyon Eracles*, §28, p. 42 (trans. Edbury, pp. 34–6) provide a strikingly similar account of this meeting and its outcome.

VII *De adunatione duorum exercituum*^a

Anno millesimo centesimo octogesimo septimo ab incarnatione domini, congregauit rex syrie exercitum^b copiosum sicut arenam^c que est in littore maris ut^d debellaret terram Iuda, et uenit usque Iaulan trans flumen, ibique^e fixit tentorium. Rex autem terre Ierusalem coadunauit et ipse exercitum ab^f omni Iudea^f [fol. 5v] et Samaria. Et conuenerunt omnes et castra metati sunt circa fontem^g Safforie. Templarii uero et hospitalarii de omnibus castellis suis populum^h multum congregauerunt, ueneruntque in castra. Surrexit autem et comes Tripolis cum omni populo quem de Tripoli et Galilea congregauerat et uenit in castris. Sed et princeps Reginaldus Montis Regalis cum gente sua, Balisanus Neapolensis cum sua, Reginaldus Sidoniensis cum sua, dominus Cesarie Palestine cum sua. Non remansit homo in ciuitatibus uel uicis uel castellis qui ad bella posset procedere, quin iussu regis urgeretur exire. Nec hoc quidem sufficebat eis sed aperuerunt erariumⁱ regis^j Anglie, et dederunt stipendium omnibus qui arcum uel lanceam^k poterant ad pugnam gestare. Habebant autem exercitum copiosum, milites mille .CC., turcopulos innumerabiles, pedites decem et .VIII. milia uel eo amplius. Et gloriati sunt in multitudine hominum et equorum hynnientium, in loriceis quoque et galeis et lanceis et clipeis aureis, et non crediderunt in deo, nec sperauerunt in salutari eius, qui est^l protector et saluator Israel, sed euanuerunt in cogitationibus suis, et uani facti sunt.

^a exercitum *A*, excercitum *P* ^b excercitum *P* ^c altered to harenam *A*, harenam *P* ^d et *P* ^e ubique *AP* ^f iudea ab omni marked for transposition with double virgules *V* ^g om. (with vallem interlin.) *V* ^h om. *P* ⁱ -i- interlin. *A* ^j domini regis *V* ^k -m appears to have been corrected from -n- followed by an illegible letter *C* ^l interlin. in different hand *A*

VII *About the coming together of the two armies*

In the year 1187 from the Incarnation of the Lord, the king of Syria gathered an army as copious as the sand on the shore of the sea so that he might conquer the land of Judah, and he came to the Jawlan across the river, and pitched [his] tent there.⁵⁰ The king of the land of Jerusalem himself also assembled an army from all of Judea and Samaria. They all came together and encamped around the spring of Ṣaffūrīyah. The Templars and Hospitallers also gathered a great host from all of their castles and came to the camp. The count of Tripoli also rose up with the entire host that he had gathered from Tripoli and Galilee and came to the camp, as well as Prince Reynald of Montréal with his own men, Balian of Nablus with his, Reynald of Sidon with his, [and] the lord of Caesarea Palestina with his.⁵¹ No man able to march to war, who was urged to go out by order of the king, remained in the cities, villages, or castles. Nor was this enough for them, but they even opened the treasury of the king of England and made a payment to all who could carry a bow or spear to battle.⁵²

They had a copious army: 1,200 knights, innumerable turcoples, 18,000 or more foot soldiers.⁵³ And they gloried in the great number of men and whinnying horses, in their armour, too, and in their helmets and lances and golden shields, and they did not believe in God, nor did they place hope in the salvation of him who is the protector and saviour of Israel, but they lapsed in their thoughts and became vain.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's forces actually mustered at al-'Ashtarā, which is south of the Jawlan: see Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 252–5.

⁵¹ In addition to Reynald of Montréal (Reynald de Châtillon), this passage refers to: Balian of Ibelin, lord of Nablus (c. 1175 to 1187, and in title only from 1187 to c. 1193); Reynald Grenier, lord of Sidon and Beaufort (1171–1200); and Gautier II Grenier, lord of Caesarea (1182–89/91).

⁵² See also *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIII (p. 156); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xxix (p. 46); Lyon *Eracles*, §28, p. 43 (trans. Edbury, p. 36). The appropriation of Henry II's treasure, which he had been amassing in Jerusalem in anticipation of a planned crusade as penance for the killing of Thomas Becket in 1170, may have been a powerful incentive for Gerard de Ridefort and Guy de Lusignan to seek battle and victory. The treasure was kept in the houses of the Temple and Hospital in Jerusalem: see Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Henry II of England and the Holy Land', *English Historical Review*, vol. 97, no. 385 (Oct., 1982), pp. 721–39. *IP1*, p. 269 says that the money was used for the defence of Tyre 'and other affairs of the kingdom'.

⁵³ Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xxx (p. 47) says 1,200 knights and 7,000 others; Lyon *Eracles*, §29, p. 43 (trans. Edbury, p. 36) says 1,200 knights and 30,000 others. *IP1*, p. 260 says that the army was thought to have had 'more than 1,000 knights and more than 20,000 foot soldiers'. Abū Shāma pp. 262–3, quoting 'Imād al-Dīn, says that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's camp at al-'Ashtarā consisted of 12,000 men armed from head to toe.

⁵⁴ Lyon *Eracles*, §31, p. 44 (trans. Edbury, p. 37) expresses a similar sentiment.

VIII *De ligno dominico^a ad bellum allato^b*

Miserunt etiam in Ierusalem^c ad patriarcham quatinus cum ligno^d dominico precioso ipsemet ad castra uenire properasset. Et quoniam lumen oculorum cordis iam dudum amiserat, sicut Ely^e Silonites Ofhny et Finees filios suos, scilicet episcopum Liddensis ecclesie, et episcopum Accon constituit^f ut essent portitores dominice crucis, et custodes, sperans omnibus captis uel interfectis sibi aditum patere^g euadendi,^g sed uoluntate dei cecidit retro de sella quam fortasse indignus possederat. Interea Siri transierunt Iordanem, percurrentes et deuastantes omnem regionem circa torrentem Cyson, a Tiberiade usque^h Betthanium,ⁱ et montes Gelboe et Iesrael,^j et usque Nazareth,^k et per circuitum montis Tabor. Et quoniam terram inuenerunt^l ab hominibus destitutam, quia fugerant timore eorum, incenderunt areas et quicquid inuenire poterant flammis tradiderunt. Ardebat autem tota **[fol. 6r]** terra sicut globus unus ante faciem eorum. Nec tamen hiis saciati insuper et montem sanctum ascenderunt, et locum sanctissimum in quo saluator noster assumptis^m discipulis, Petro, et Iacobo, et Iohanne, apparantibus Moyse et Elyaⁿ gloriam future resurrectionis transfiguratione sua ostendit, fedauerunt. Quem locum princeps apostolorum, uisa gloria eterne claritatis laudans, ibique cupiens habitare dixit:^o ‘Domine bonum est nos^p hic^p esse,’ et cetera, futurum nesciens quod presens cernebat.

^a-c- missing due to trimming C, domin, with -i or -ico missing due to trimming A, domini P ^b-ato missing due to trimming A, allac P ^c corrected from israelem V ^dlingno V ^ehely AP, amended to hely V ^fadd. in different hand V ^{g-g}euadendi patere V ^had V ⁱaltered from betthani to betthanem V, betthanium P ^jisrael AP ^knazaret CAVP ^l-ne-added in different hand V ^massumptus A ⁿhelya P ^opreceded by cupiens (crossed out, with first -i- expunctuated) A ^{p-p}hic nos V

VIII *About the Lord's Cross, brought to war*

They also sent [a message] to the patriarch in Jerusalem that he himself should hasten to come to the encampment with the Lord's precious Cross. And since he had long since lost the light of the eyes of [his] heart, just as Eli of Shiloh [lost his sight and] his sons, Hophni and Phineas, he accordingly appointed the bishop of the church of Lydda and the bishop of Acre to be the bearers and custodians of the Lord's Cross,⁵⁵ hoping that, if everybody were captured or killed, a way of escape would open up for him—but by the will of God, he fell backwards from the seat that he had possessed (perhaps unworthily).⁵⁶

Meanwhile, the Syrians crossed the Jordan, overrunning and laying waste the whole region around the **Kishon River** from Tiberias all the way up to **Bethany** and the mountains of Gilboa and Jezreel and up to Nazareth, and around Mount Tabor.⁵⁷ And since [the Muslims] found the land abandoned by the people because they had fled out of fear of them, they set alight the threshing floors and handed over to the flames everything they could find. The whole land was burning like a single ball [of fire] before them. Not sated by these acts, however, they also climbed the holy mountain and defiled the most holy place where our Saviour, having taken up the disciples Peter, James, and John, with Moses and Elijah appearing, revealed the glory of the future Resurrection by his transfiguration.⁵⁸ When he had seen the glory of eternal splendour, praising this place and wishing to dwell there, the prince of the Apostles said: 'Lord, it is good for us to be here', et cetera, not knowing that what he saw before him was to be.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Bernard, bishop of Lydda (1168–1190) and Rufinus, bishop of Acre (c. 1186–1187). Bernard died at the siege of Acre (1189–1191) in 1190, according to Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 87. The *Libellus* claims that Bernard was captured along with other high-ranking Christians: see below, c. XIV). Rufinus was killed at Ḥaṭṭīn: see below, c. XIII and *IP1*, p. 258. There are divergent traditions regarding the bearers of the True Cross. The 'letter from the prices of the East' in the *Hugonis chronici continuatio Weingartensis* (composed c. 1191) reports that both Bernard and Rufinus died at Ḥaṭṭīn: *RRRH*, no. 658; for the date, see *MGH SS*, XXI, p. 473–4. *IP1* gives Rufinus in all versions; three manuscripts name Bernard, whereas four other medieval witnesses give the cantor of the Lord's Sepulchre: see *IP1*, p. 258, n. 4. *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIII (p. 156), Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xxix (p. 46), and Lyon *Eracles*, §28, p. 42 (trans. Edbury, p. 35) give the prior of the Holy Sepulchre. Other traditions are noted in Baldwin, *Raymond III*, p. 88, n. 44.

⁵⁶ On the meaning of this complex allusion, see Introduction, pp. 20–1.

⁵⁷ See the Gazetteer entries on **Kishon and Bethany**.

⁵⁸ The reference is to Jesus' transfiguration: Matthew 17:1–8; Mark 9:1–7; Luke 9:28–35; 2 Peter 1:16–18. Although the Gospels do not name the mountain on which this took place, the attribution to Mount Tabor was common in pilgrimage texts, and the Franks assumed control of the Orthodox abbey church that had been established there in the late antique period in honour of the Saviour and the Transfiguration: see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 63–85 (nos 155–8).

⁵⁹ Matthew 17:4; Mark 9:4; Luke 9:33.

IX *De expugnatione Tyberiadis*

Istis ita percurrentibus ac deuastantibus, transiuit Saladinus flumen cum omni exercitu suo, et iussit applicari exercitum ad ciuitatem Tiberiadem ut debellaret eam. Secunda die mensis Iulii feria .V. circumdata est ciuitas a sagittariis et ceperunt pugnare. Et quoniam ciuitas non erat munita, comitissa et uiri Galilei miserunt nuntios ad comitem et ad regem dicentes: ‘Circumdederunt^a Turci ciuitatem, et iam prope expugnauerunt muris perforatis, ad nos intrantes. Succurrite ergo cras, uel capti et captiui erimus.’ Pugnaverunt igitur Siri et preualuerunt. Vt autem cognouerunt uiri Galilei non posse sustinere, relictis propugnaculis et ciuitate fugerunt in castellum, a facie paganorum.^b Capta est autem^c ciuitas, atque succensa. Et quoniam^d audierat rex Egypti^e quod exercitus christianorum ueniret aduersum se, noluit oppugnare castellum, sed ait: ‘Sinite, captiui mei^f sunt.’ Hec est ciuitas tam frequenter in euuangeliiis^g nominata, corporali frequentatione et illustratione miraculorum domini nostri gloriosa. Hic autem ut^h uerum hominem se ostenderet in nauicula petri dormiuit, et utⁱ uerus deus uentis et mari imperauit. Hic denique ut uerum deum se demonstraret, quarta uigilia noctis, scilicet circa finem Mosayce^j legis, aurora euuangelii et gratie iam albescente, super liquidas undas maris operante diuinitate ambulauit. Hic uero Petrum fide^k titubantem et mergentem extensa manu erexit, scilicet

^a second -de- interlin. C ^b ppaganorum with initial p- expunctuated V ^c interlin. A ^d quia P ^e egypti AVP ^f interlin. in different hand C ^g ewangeliis V ^h interlin. V ⁱ interlin. A ^j mosaice AP ^k written over erasure A

IX *About the capture of Tiberias*

While [the Muslims] thus overran and devastated the land, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn crossed the river with his entire army and ordered the army to be brought to the city of Tiberias so that he might conquer it. On the second day of the month of July, on the fifth day [of the week], the city was surrounded by archers and they began to fight. And because the city had not been garrisoned, the countess and the men of Galilee sent messengers to the count and to the king, saying:⁶⁰ ‘The Turks have surrounded the city and already they have nearly captured it; they have broken through the walls and are forcing their way in toward us. Therefore, come to our aid tomorrow, or we shall be captured and [made] captives.’⁶¹

Then the Syrians fought and prevailed. When the men of Galilee realized that they could not hold out, they fled into the citadel from the face of the pagans, having abandoned the ramparts and the city; and the city was indeed captured and set on fire. And since the king of Egypt had heard that the army of the Christians was coming against him, he was unwilling to besiege the citadel, but said: ‘Let them be. They are my captives.’

This is the city named so frequently in the Gospels, [made] glorious by our Lord’s bodily visitation and the radiance of [his] miracles.⁶² Here, so that he might show himself [to be] a true man, he slept in Peter’s little ship and, as the true God, he commanded the winds and the sea.⁶³ Here, so that he might reveal himself [to be] the true God, in the fourth watch of the night (that is to say, around the end of the Mosaic Law, with the dawn of the Gospel and of grace already growing bright) he walked upon the flowing waves of the sea, [his] divinity being at work.⁶⁴ Here, indeed, with outstretched hand he

⁶⁰ The countess was Eschiva of Bures, princess of Galilee (1158–c. 1187) and wife of Count Raymond III of Tripoli after the death of her first husband, Walter of Saint-Omer, in 1174.

⁶¹ See also *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIII (pp. 157–8); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xxxi, xxxiii (pp. 48, 50); Lyon *Eracles*, §§30, 32, pp. 43, 45 (trans. Edbury, pp. 36–7, 38). Note that both versions of the *Eracles* erroneously describe the messengers being sent first to Acre, before the army moved to Ṣaffūrīyah, and then again to Ṣaffūrīyah.

⁶² The Gospels refer to the subsequent events as having taken place on and around the Sea of Tiberias, not in the ‘city’ itself.

⁶³ Matthew 8:23–7; Mark 4:35–41; Luke 8:22–5.

⁶⁴ Matthew 14:22–33; Mark 6:45–51; John 6:15–21. The fourth watch of the night (*vigilia quarta*) was the period immediately before sunrise in Roman conceptions of time. Matthew 14:25 also identifies it as the time of the night when Christ walked on the Sea of Galilee. In medieval exegesis, the four watches of the night could be interpreted as the four successive ‘laws’ given to mankind by God. See, for example, Pseudo-Jerome, *Expositio quatuor evangeliorum*, in *PL*, vol. 30, col. 553C: ‘the first in nature, the second the written law [i.e. of Moses], the third of the prophets, and the fourth of the evangelists’; Walafrid Strabo, *Expositio in quatuor evangelia*, in *PL*, vol. 114, col. 881C–D.

ecclesiam inter fluctus seculi periclitantem gloria resurrectionis^a et operatione miraculorum confirmavit. Hic autem ut uerum corpus et ueram **[fol. 6v]** carnem post resurrectionem^b se habere insinaret, coram discipulis suis partem piscis assi et fauam mellis manducauit. Et post trinam interrogationem^c an Petrus illum diligeret, et trinam responsionem Petri, ‘Domine, tu scis quia amo te,’ oues et agnos Petro conseruandos commendauit, atque celebrato glorioso^d conuiuio et iam abire incipiente Petro se sequi, scilicet passione crucis, precepit.

^a resurrectionis *CA* ^b resurrectionem *CA* ^c interrogationem *CAP*
^d gloriosa *V*

raised up Peter, wavering in faith and sinking; that is to say, he strengthened the Church imperilled amid the waves of the world by the glory of [his] Resurrection and the working of miracles.⁶⁵ And here, so that he might make it known that he had a true body and true flesh after the Resurrection, in the presence of his disciples he ate part of a roasted fish and honeycomb.⁶⁶ And after asking Peter three times whether he loved him, and Peter's three-fold response: 'Lord, you know that I love you', he commended [his] sheep and lambs to Peter for safekeeping, and having celebrated a glorious feast, and already beginning to go away, he bade Peter to follow him (that is to say, in the passion of the Cross).⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Matthew 14:30–1. The *Glossa Ordinaria* gives the same interpretation of Jesus' raising up of Peter: in *PL*, vol. 114, col. 881C–D.

⁶⁶ Luke 24:41–3.

⁶⁷ John 21:15–19. Here the author alludes to the early Christian tradition that Peter was later crucified in Rome: see David L. Eastman (trans.), *The Ancient Martyrdom Accounts of Peter and Paul* (Atlanta, 2015).

X *De consilio procerum et^a de^a consilio comitis Tripolitani*

Secunda die mensis Iulii feria .V. aduesperascente auditis litteris Galileorum, conuocauit rex terre Ierusalem omnes duces exercitus ut darent consilium quid essent acturi. Qui omnes tale^b dedere^c consilium quatinus cruce dominica comitante, omnes armati et per acies distincti, contra hostes dimicaturi mane procederent, atque ciuitati Tiberiadis succurrerent. Quod audiens comes Tripolitanus ait: 'Mea est ciuitas Tiberiadis. Uxor mea ibi est. Nullus uestrum tantum amisit quantum ego, nec aliquis uestrum tam diligenti^d studio salua christianitate succurreret uel adiuuaret quam ego. Tamen absit hoc a rege et a nobis aquam et uictum et ea que necessaria sunt relinquere, et tantam multitudinem populorum et iumentorum in solitudine fame et siti et feruida estate interficiendam deducere. Et quoniam populus multus est et feruida estas sine habundantia^e aque uos ipsi scitis, per dimidiam horam diei^f populum non posse subsistere, nec inimici nostri sine magna penuria aque et interitu hominum^g et iumentorum ad nos possunt pertinere. State ergo super aquas uestras et alimenta uestra in medio terre, quoniam certum est in tantam superbiam Sarracenos se erexisse capta ciuitate, ut nec ad dextram^h nec ad sinistram declinare uelint,ⁱ sed per uastam solitudinem recto itinere ad nos properare et ad bella prouocare. Populus autem noster refectus et satiatus pane et aqua, contra hostes pugnaturus de castris exhibit hilariter,^j et nos quidem et equi nostri recentes adiuuante nos et protegente cruce dominica, gentem incredulam et in siccitate fatigatam, et refugium refocillationis non habentem fortiter expugnabimus. Sciatis uero inimicos crucis Christi ante [fol. 7r] quam ad mare ueniant uel ad flumen possint redire, interfectos gladio^k uel lancea uel siti uel captos manu, gratia nobiscum^l Iesu^m Christi^m perdurante. Nobis autem si aliquid contigerit mali quod absit, habemus per circuitum munitiones si opus fuerit fugiendi quod deus auertat.' Et quoniam tradituri erant in manibus luporum, de lupo iniquo

^{a-a} missing due to trimming C, om. P ^b corrected from talem V ^c dederunt V, dederet P ^d corrected from diligenti V ^e abundancia A, abundancia V ^f die P ^g corrected from hominem A ^h dextram AP
ⁱ add. in different hand V ^j h- interlin. in different ink C ^k corrected from gladeo A ^l -cum interlin. C ^{m-m} christi iesu marked for transposition with double virgules C

**X *About the counsel of the nobles and about the
counsel of the count of Tripoli***

As the second day of the month of July, the fifth day of the week, was drawing towards evening, the king of the land of Jerusalem, having heard the letters of the Galileans, called together all the commanders of the army so that they might give counsel as to what they should do. They all advised that, with the Lord's cross accompanying them [and] everyone armed and divided into formations, they should march to fight against the enemy in the morning and hasten to bring aid to the city of Tiberias.

Hearing this, the count of Tripoli said:⁶⁸ 'The city of Tiberias is mine. My wife is there. None of you has lost as much as I, nor would any of you, if Christianity were safe, hurry to bring aid or help [to Tiberias] with such loving zeal as I. Yet far be it from the king and from us to leave behind water, provisions, and all necessary things, and to lead such a great number of people and beasts of burden in the wilderness to be killed by hunger and thirst and the scorching summer. And since the host is great and the summer scorching, you yourselves know that the host cannot survive for half an hour without plenty of water, and our enemies cannot reach us without great want of water and loss of men and beasts of burden. Therefore, stay around your water [sources] and your provisions in the centre of the land, since it is certain that, now that they have captured the city, the Saracens have raised themselves up in such great pride that they wish to turn neither right nor left, but rather to hasten to us by a direct march through the vast wilderness and provoke [us] to battle.⁶⁹ Our host, however, refreshed and satisfied with bread and water, will go out from the camp joyfully to give battle against the enemy. And once we and our horses are refreshed, with the Lord's Cross aiding and protecting us, we will valiantly defeat that race, [which is] faithless, fatigued from thirst, and lacking refuge for reinvigoration. Indeed, you should know that before the enemies of the Cross of Christ reach the sea or can retire to the river, they will be killed by the sword, the lance, or thirst, or be captured by hand, the grace of Jesus Christ remaining with us. However, if anything bad happens to us (and may it not!) we have fortifications around us, if there be need of fleeing—God forbid!

And since they were about to be delivered into the hands of wolves, they accused the count, who was speaking the truth, [using] the proverb of the

⁶⁸ Raymond of Tripoli's advice appears in various related versions in other texts: see, for example, *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIII (pp. 159–60); *Lyon Eracles*, §32, pp. 44–5 (trans. Edbury, p. 38); *Ibn al-Athīr*, vol. 2, p. 321, *Abū Shāma*, p. 265. On some of the parallels between the different accounts, see Kane, 'Wolf's hair', pp. 99–102.

⁶⁹ Raymond expresses a very similar idea in *Colbert-Fontainebleau Eracles*, XXIII.xxxiii (p. 50) and *Lyon Eracles*, §32, p. 45 (trans. Edbury, p. 38).

problema contra comitem uera dicentem protenderunt, dicentes: ‘Adhuc latet in pelle lupi.’ Impletum est ergo in eis quod per Sapientem dicitur: ‘Ve terre cuius rex iuuenis est et ciues mane comedunt.’ Rex autem noster iuuenis iuuenile secutus^a consilium^a et ciues inuidia et odio^b carnem^c proximorum comedentes consilium sue salutis et ceterorum reliquerunt, et in^d insipientia et fatuitate sua terram et populum et seipsos perdiderunt.

^{a-a} consilium secutus *V* ^b ododio with initial od- expunctuated *C*
^c -n- interlin. in different hand *C* ^d om. *AP*

wicked wolf, saying: ‘Still he hides in the skin of a wolf.’⁷⁰ Therefore, that which is said in *Wisdom* was fulfilled in them: ‘Woe to the land whose king is a child, and whose people eat in the morning!’⁷¹ Our juvenile king followed juvenile counsel,⁷² and the people, eating the flesh of their neighbours in jealousy and in hatred, abandoned the counsel of their own and the others’ salvation, and in their unwisdom and foolishness they destroyed the land, the host, and themselves.⁷³

⁷⁰ This barely-disguised accusation of treachery appears in the *Libellus*, the Old French accounts, and the *Regni Iherosolymitani brevis historia*. The phrase ‘hiding in the skin of a wolf’ appears to have been an Old French idiom denoting treachery. For discussion, see Introduction, p. 38. Note that ‘they’ are Gerard de Ridefort (and, by association, Reynald de Châtillon) in the Old French texts.

⁷¹ Ecclesiastes 10:16: ‘Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child and when the princes eat in the morning.’

⁷² The term *juvenis* usually referred to a young man or woman. Rather than trying to suggest that the king and his advisers were literally ‘young’, the author is accusing them of being inexperienced and naïve.

⁷³ The phrasing here echoes the end of Chapter I.

XI *De aciebus dispositis*

Igitur feria .VI. die tertia mensis Iulii relictis necessariis, per turmas suas processerunt. Comes Tripolis in prima fronte secundum dignitatem suam, ceteri autem dextra leuaque secundum institutionem terre perrexerunt. Acies autem^a sancte crucis et acies regis simul subsequentes, postremo templarii causa exercitum custodiendi secundum situm terre. Profecti sunt autem de Safforia ut irent Tiberiadem sicut dictum est, et peruenerunt usque casale quod dicitur Marescalcie^b in tercio miliario a ciuitate. Ibi uero ita coangustati^c sunt incursione hostium et siti, ut ultra nequirent procedere. Et quoniam transituri erant^d per loca scopulosa et angusta, ut ad mare Galilee pertingerent quod uno miliario distabat ab eis, mandauit comes ad regem, dicens: 'Festina, et transeamus locum istum, quatinus et nos et populus possimus nos ad aquas saluare, sin autem, periclitabimus^e sicca mansione.' Qui respondit: 'Cito transibimus.' Interea Turci inuaserunt extremos exercitus, ita ut templarii et ceteri qui in extrema parte erant minime possent sustinere. Neci denique tradituri^f iussit rex ex^g inprouiso exigentibus peccatis figere tentoria. Cumque comes respexisset, et uidisset figere tentoria, ait: 'Heu, heu, domine deus, finita est guerra, traditi sumus ad [fol. 7v] mortem et terra destructa est!' Castra metati sunt ergo cum dolore et^h angustia et siti in sicca mansione, ubi magis estⁱ effusus sanguis nocte illa quam aqua. Sit nox illa solitaria nec laude digna, in qua christiani ariditate sitis amiserunt

^a om. P ^b preceded by expunctuated casa A ^c -an- interlin. A
^d esset (expunctuated) erant V ^e sic CAVP ^f altered to tradituris in different hand V
^g interlin. A ^h repeated C ⁱ add. interlin. V

XI *About the arrangement of the formations*

Then on the sixth day [of the week], the third day of the month of July, having left behind the things that they needed, they marched out in their companies, with the count of Tripoli in the vanguard in accordance with his status.⁷⁴ The others marched on the right and the left according to the custom of the land, the formation of the Holy Cross and the formation of the king following together, [and] finally the Templars for the purpose of keeping the army intact, following the lay of the land.⁷⁵

They set out from Ṣaffūrīyah so that they might go to Tiberias, as has been said, and they reached the village called **Maskana** three miles away from the city. There they were so afflicted by the enemy's assault and by thirst that they were unable to march further. And since they were about to cross through rocky and narrow places in order to reach the Sea of Galilee, which was a mile away from them, the count sent word to the king, saying: 'Hurry, and let us pass through this place so that both we and the host may be able to save ourselves at the waters; but if not, we shall endanger ourselves in a dry dwelling place.'⁷⁶ [The king] responded: 'We shall cross quickly.'

Meanwhile, the Turks attacked the rear of the army, so that the Templars and the others who were at the very rear were barely able to keep up. Finally, as they were about to be handed over to death, the king unexpectedly gave the command to pitch the tents, with their sins driving it. And when the count looked back and saw [them] pitch the tents, he declared: 'Alas, alas! Lord God, the war is over! We have been delivered to death, and the land is ruined!'⁷⁷

They encamped with grief and distress and thirst in a dry dwelling place, where more blood was poured out that night than water. Let that night be solitary and unworthy of praise, on which the Christians lost their strength

⁷⁴ The four sons of his wife, Eschiva, were with him, according to Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xlii (p. 65) and Lyon *Eracles*, §42, p. 54 (trans. Edbury, p. 47). The Old French texts specify that Raymond was in the vanguard because the army was marching within the boundaries of his lordship.

⁷⁵ According to *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIII (p. 163), Balian of Ibelin led the rearguard; Lyon *Eracles*, §42, p. 54 (trans. Edbury, p. 46) says that Joscelin of Courtenay was with him; Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xlii (p. 65) says that Balian was in command of the rearguard and that Reynald of Sidon escaped with him.

⁷⁶ This and many other instances in this chapter liken the march to Ḥaṭṭīn to the journey of the Israelites through the wilderness in Exodus and Numbers. See Introduction, pp. 55–6.

⁷⁷ *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIV (p. 168), Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xl (pp. 62–3), and Lyon *Eracles*, §40, p. 52 (trans. Edbury, p. 45) actually attribute the advice to pitch the tents to Raymond himself. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, pp. 323–3 and Abū Shāma, pp. 269–70 have Raymond flee before the tents are erected.

fortitudinem. Nec computetur in noctibus anni nec numeretur in mensibus, in qua lux christianorum obcecata est. O quam amara habitatio, in qua non erat mortis declinatio! Hec est mansio declinationis et sitis, ubi duces Israel pro desiderio aquae declinauerunt. Igitur filii Esau,^a circumdantes populum dei et incendentes desertum circa eum, atque tota nocte calore ignis, fumo, sagittis uexatos, fame et siti uexabant. O quam miserabilis requies, post tam longam uiam solitudinis. Forte non sunt recordati^b manus dei qua redemit Israel de potestate tribulantis.^c Certe stabat redemptio captiuorum in medio populi, arbor scilicet salutifera, in qua suspensus est serpens eneus, ut a morsibus uenenati serpentis^d respicientes liberaret. Forsitan non respiciebant,^e sed neque considerabant, quoniam obscura nox infidelitatis eorum captiuauerat fidem, et cecitas inuidie obdurauerat mentem. Dissipati sunt nec compuncti, clamauerunt^f nec erat qui saluos faceret, quoniam filii alieni mentiti sunt domino, et claudicauerunt a semitis eius. Ideo clamantes non exaudiuit, quia non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris. Enimuero^g cibauit^h eosⁱ deus nocte illa pane lacrimarum, et uino compunctionis sine mensura potauit, pallio quoque meroris et angustie cooperuit, atque castigatione dura flagellauit, et renuerunt accipere^j disciplinam.

^a esau CAP ^b corrected from recordate V ^c corrected from tribulantes A ^d serpentes P ^e respiciebat AP ^f clamauerunt altered from clamarat A ^g preceded by Et AP ^h cebauit C, corrected from cebauit in different hand A ⁱ interlin. in different hand C ^j add. in mg. in different hand V

through the dryness of thirst;⁷⁸ nor let [that night], on which the light of the Christians was eclipsed, be reckoned among the nights of the year or numbered among the months.⁷⁹ Oh, how bitter an abode, where there was no turning away of death! This is a dwelling place of turning away and thirst, where the leaders of Israel turned away out of a desire for water.⁸⁰

Then the sons of Esau,⁸¹ surrounding the host of God and setting fire to the desert around it, tormented with hunger and thirst those [who had already been] tormented for the whole night with the heat of fire, with smoke, [and] with arrows.⁸² Oh, how wretched a rest after such a long way through the wilderness! Perhaps they did not remember the hand of God, with which he redeemed Israel from the power of the one who afflicted them.⁸³ Certainly, the redemption of captives stood in the midst of the people, namely the salvation-bearing tree, on which hung a bronze serpent so that it might free those looking upon [it] from the bites of the venomous snake.⁸⁴ Perhaps they did not look back, but nor did they think carefully, since the dark night of faithlessness had captured their faith, and the blindness of envy had hardened [their] hearts. They were separated and did not repent; they cried out, but there was no one to save them, since, [as] children that are strangers, they lied to God and wavered from his paths. For this reason, he did not listen to them crying out, since praise is not seemly in the mouth of a sinner. Truly, God fed them that night with the bread of tears and gave them wine of sorrow without measure to drink.⁸⁵ He also covered them with a cloak of grief and anguish and scourged them with harsh punishment—but they refused correction.

⁷⁸ For a similar sentiment, see *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIV (p. 168) and Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xli (pp. 63–4).

⁷⁹ Although this passage quotes from Job 3:6–7, ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 95 also describes the night of 2 July as having been particularly dark. The author uses further metaphors relating to darkness below.

⁸⁰ The author plays upon the various meanings of *declinatio* and the related verb *declinare*. For further explanation, see Introduction, pp. 55–6.

⁸¹ In Malachi 1:2–3 and Romans 9:13, God declares his love for Jacob and his hatred for Jacob’s brother Esau, hence the author’s pejorative association of the Muslims with Esau.

⁸² See also *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIV (p. 168); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xli (pp. 63–4); Lyon *Eracles*, §41, p. 52 (trans. Edbury, p. 45).

⁸³ Psalm 77:42–3. Here, the Psalm alludes to Pharaoh, who ‘afflicted’ the Israelites before their Exodus; by extension, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the sultan of Egypt, is a new Pharaoh afflicting the Christians at Ḥaṭṭīn.

⁸⁴ For explanation, see Introduction, p. 56.

⁸⁵ This sentence and the two previous ones adapt phrasing from Psalm 34:16, Psalm 17:42, Psalm 17:46, Ecclesiasticus 15:9, Psalm 79:6, and Psalm 59:5. Sawīrus, p. 120 says that the Christians literally drank wine at Ḥaṭṭīn due to thirst.

XII *De peditibus occisis*

Humiliatis^a tandem in loco afflictionis, et operis umbra mortis, illuxit dies, dies tribulationis et miserie, dies captiuitatis et angustie, dies planctus et perdicionis. Mane autem facto, ascendit rex Syrie relinquens ciuitatem Tiberiadem cum omni exercitu suo ad planiciem campi ut preliaret aduersum christianos, atque preparauit se ut occurreret nostris. Nostri igitur direxerunt acies^b suas^b et festinauerunt ut transirent supra [fol. 8r] dictum locum, quatinus aquis recuperatis^c refrigerati, hostes impugnando^d acrius inuaderent. Processit denique comes ut optineret locum quem Turci iam inceperant^e appropinquare. Cum autem ordinati essent et per acies distincti, preceperunt peditibus, ut sagittando munirent exercitum, quatinus milites leuius hostibus obstarent, ut milites muniti per pedites a sagittariis hostibus, et pedites per lanceas militum ab incurso hostium essent adiuti, et ita utique mutuo adiutorio^f defensi salutem optinerent. Sed iam appropinquantibus Sarracenis, conglobati sunt pedites in unum cuneum atque ueloci cursu cacumen excelsi montis relinquentes exercitum malo suo ascenderunt. Rex igitur et episcopi et ceteri miserunt ad eos rogantes ut uenirent lignum^g dominicum et hereditatem crucifixi et se ipsos et exercitum domini defendere. At illi respondentes dixerunt: 'Non uenimus^h quoniam siti extincti sumus et nequimus preliare.' Mandaueruntⁱ iterum, at illi omnino reditum negantes perstiterunt. Pugnauerunt^j interim templarii et hospitalarii fortiter et turcopoli^k in extrema parte exercitus, et non potuerunt preualere, quoniam undique absque numero inimici creuerunt, sagittando et uulnerando christianos. Cum autem paululum processissent clamauerunt ad regem postulando auxilium, dicentes se tanti ponderis bellum^l non posse sustinere. Rex autem et ceteri ut uiderunt quod pedites renuerunt redire, et quod ipsi sine seruientibus contra sagittas Turcorum non possent subsistere, gratia dominice crucis iusserunt interim figere tentoria, quatinus cursus Sarracenorum^m impedirent et leuius ferrent. Igitur diffuse sunt acies, et descenderunt circa sanctamⁿ crucemⁿ confusi et intermixti, huc atque illuc. Hii denique qui fuerunt cum comite Tripolis in prima fronte, uidentes^o quod rex et hospitalarii et templarii et uniuersi ita essent simul^p confusi^p atque

^a corrected from Humilitatis AV, Humilitatis P ^{b-b} written over erasure V ^c -cu- interlin. A ^d inugnando A, in pugnando P ^e partially erased or abraded C ^f adiutorio C ^g lignum expunctuated V, lignum P ^h uenerunt P ⁱ Mandaunt V ^j Pungnauerunt C ^k corrected from torcopoli V ^l om. P ^m initial -a- written over erasure V ⁿ⁻ⁿ crucem sanctam marked for transposition with double virgules C ^o uidens P ^{p-p} confusi simul marked for transposition with triple virgules V

XII *About the slaughter of the foot soldiers*

When at length they had been humbled in the place of affliction and covered by the shadow of death, the day dawned: a day of tribulation and misery, a day of captivity and anguish, a day of lamentation and ruin.

In the morning, the king of Syria [left] the city of Tiberias [and] came up with his whole army to the level ground of the field to do battle against the Christians, and he prepared himself to engage our men.⁸⁶ Then our men drew up their formations and made haste to cross the aforesaid place, so that, refreshed after they had recovered the springs, they might attack the enemy more strongly in battle. Then the count advanced so that he might occupy the place to which the Turks had already begun to draw near.

When they had been drawn up and divided into formations, they ordered the foot soldiers to support the army by shooting arrows so that the knights might more easily oppose the enemy, as the knights could be defended by the foot soldiers from the enemy archers and the foot soldiers could be protected from an enemy charge by the knights' lances. Thus, protected by mutual assistance, they would surely obtain deliverance. But with the Saracens already closing in, the foot soldiers joined together in one body, and they climbed to the top of a high hill in a great rush, leaving the army to its evil [fate]. The king, the bishops, and the others then sent to them asking them to come to defend the Cross of the Lord, the inheritance of the Crucified One, themselves, and the Lord's army. But they said in response: 'We are not coming, because we are dying of thirst and unable to fight.' [The king, the bishops, and the others] sent word a second time, but they entirely persisted in refusing to return.

Meanwhile, the Templars, Hospitallers, and turcoples fought bravely in the rearguard, but they were unable to prevail, because the number of enemies increased on all sides, firing arrows and wounding the Christians. When they had advanced only a little, they shouted to the king, demanding help, saying that they could not endure such a heavy battle. When the king and the others saw that the foot soldiers refused to return, and that they themselves were unable to hold out against the arrows of the Turks without the sergeants, for the sake of the Lord's Cross they gave the command to pitch the tents for a time so that they might impede and more easily resist the Saracens' attacks. Therefore, the formations were scattered, and they descended here and there around the Holy Cross, disordered and intermingled. At last, seeing that the king, the Hospitallers, the Templars, and

⁸⁶ In fact, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had been with his forces the whole night: see Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xli (pp. 63–4); Lyon *Eracles*, §41, p. 52 (trans. Edbury, p. 45); Ibn Shaddād, p. 73; 'Imād al-Dīn, pp. 24–6; Ibn al-Athir, vol. 2, p. 321.

cum Turcis commixti, et multitudinem barbarorum^a inter eos et regem,^b ipsis autem non patere aditum ad lignum dominicum reuertendi, exclamauerunt: ‘Qui potest transire, transeat, quoniam non est nobis prelium, sed et fuga quidem iam periit **[fol. 8v]** a nobis.’ Inter hec Syri irruerunt^c per millenos et millenos super christianos sagittando et interficiendo eos.

^a *om. V* ^b *barbarorum V* ^c *-eru- interlin. A*

everyone else were disordered in this way and intermingled with the Turks, and that there was a great number of barbarians between them and the king, and furthermore that no way of returning to the Lord's Cross lay open to them, those who were with the count of Tripoli in the vanguard cried out: 'Let anybody who is able to cross do so, since the battle is not ours, and flight is already lost to us.'

Meanwhile, the Syrians rushed upon the Christians in their thousands upon thousands, firing arrows and killing them.

XIII *De occisione episcopi achonensis^a*

Interim^b episcopus Accon baiulator crucis dominice uulneratus est ad mortem, atque episcopo Liddensi crucem gestare reliquit. Irruerunt autem multitudo^c paganorum super pedites, atque per precipitium^d prerupti montis in cuius cacumine iam dudum fugerant eos^e precipitauerunt, et^f alios occidendo, alios captiuando uastauerunt. Et hii quidem digne talem^g mortem sustinuerunt, qui relicta cruce humilitatis Christi in superbia mentis excelsa petierunt. Comes denique et sui, et^h Balisanus Neapoletanus,ⁱ et Reginaldus Sidoniensis et ceteri^j pullani qui adhuc erant equitantes, uidentes hoc, dedere terga, atque supradictum locum angustum ui^k equorum conculcando christianos et pontem faciendo quasi per planum iter, ita per angusta loca et scopulosa super suos et Turcos et crucem fugiendo transierunt, atque sic quoquomodo^l cum uita tantum euaserunt.

^a <a>chonsis C, achonsis AP ^b Iterum P ^c -ti- interlin. A ^d precipitium V ^e add. V ^f interlin. with insertion mark C ^g t- written over erasure A ^h om. AP ⁱ altered to neapolitanus V ^j interlin. in different hand A, corrected from eteri V ^k vii P ^l quo quomodo with initial quo added later P

XIII *About the murder of the bishop of Acre*

In the meantime, the bishop of Acre, the bearer of the Lord's Cross, was wounded to death, and he left the Cross for the bishop of Lydda to carry.⁸⁷ But the great crowd of pagans rushed upon the foot soldiers, and threw them down across the precipice of the rugged hill to whose peak they had long since fled, and destroyed them, slaughtering some and capturing others. And indeed, those who sought the high places in [their] pride of mind after abandoning the Cross of Christ's humiliation suffered such a death deservedly.

Upon seeing this, the count and his men, Balian of Nablus, Reynald of Sidon, and the other *pullan*⁸⁸ who were still mounted, gave flight. And they crossed the aforesaid narrow place by trampling the Christians using the force of their horses, and making a bridge as though along a flat road, fleeing thus, they crossed through the narrow and rocky places over their own men, the Turks, and the Cross. And thus, they escaped in whatever way they could with only their lives.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ *IP1*, p. 258 and *Latin Continuation*, I.xiii (p. 70) also report that Rufinus, Bishop of Acre, was killed.

⁸⁸ Generally speaking, *pullanus* (Old French *polain*) was the term applied by European writers to Franks born in the Levant: see Margaret Ruth Morgan, 'The Meanings of Old French *polain*, Latin *pullanus*', *Medium Ævum*, vol. 48 (1979), pp. 40–54. On its significance here, see Introduction, pp. 17–18.

⁸⁹ According to the Old French texts, Guy ordered Raymond of Tripoli and his division to charge the enemy. The Muslims opened up and allowed them through. Only Raymond himself, Raymond of Antioch (son of Prince Bohemond III), and the four sons of Eschiva escaped, together with four or six others (the number varies from source to source): *Ernoul-Bernard* includes Balian of Ibelin, Reynald of Sidon, and Joscelin of Courtenay. See *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIV (pp. 169–70); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xli (p. 64); Lyon *Eracles*, §§42, 44, pp. 53–4, 56 (trans. Edbury, pp. 46–7, 48–9). Ambroise, ll. 2512–21, 2541–54, 2622–36 and *IP1*, p. 258 accuse Raymond of betraying the army to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and either fleeing or feigning flight to throw the army into confusion. The Arabic sources say either that Raymond fled or charged at the squadron of Taqī al-Dīn, who opened up his ranks to allow him through. See Ibn Shaddād, p. 74; 'Imād al-Dīn, pp. 26–7; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 322; and Ibn al-'Adīm, pp. 178–9. Abū Shāma, pp. 269–70, citing 'Imād al-Dīn, also reports the escape of Reynald of Sidon and Balian of Ibelin. *History of the Patriarchs*, p. 120 says that 400 horsemen charged with Raymond and the Muslims opened up and allowed them to escape to Tyre.

XIV *De captione sancte crucis et regis Guidonis et ceterorum*

Igitur Sarraceni congregati sunt circa lignum dominicum et regem et ceteros, deuantantes ecclesiam. Quid multa? Preualuerunt Sarraceni contra christianos et fecerunt in eos quecumque uoluerunt. Heu mihi! Quid dicam? Libet magis plorare et plangere quam aliquid dicere. Heu mihi! Dicam pollutis labiis^a qualiter preciosum lignum dominicum nostre redemptionis tactum sit dampnatis^b manibus dampnatorum? Ve mihi^c misero, quod in diebus misere uite mee talia cogor uidere! Ve autem^d et genti peccatrici, populo graui iniquitate,^e per quem omnium christianorum fides blasfematur, et pro quibus Christus iterum cogitur flagellari et crucifigi. O dulce lignum^f et suaue, sanguine filii dei^g roratum atque lauatum! O crux^h alma, in qua salus nostra pependit, per quam et cirographum mortis deletum est, etⁱ uitaⁱ in protoplasto^j perdita recuperata est. Quo mihi^k adhuc est^l uiuere, ligno^m uite sublato? Et uere credo sublatum esse, quoniam fides filii crucis euanuit, quia impossibile est sine fide placere deo. Ve nobis miseris qui armaturam nostram, peccatis exigentibus amisimus. Sublatum igitur lignum [fol. 9r] est nostre salutis, dignum ab indignis, indigne heuⁿ heu asportatum. Nec mirum si^o corporalem^o sancte crucis substantiam fortitudine^p uisibilium inimicorum amiserunt, quam iam^q dudum spiritualiter^{q,r} bonis operibus iusticie deficientibus mente et spiritu perdiderant. Plangite super hoc omnes adoratores crucis et plorate, atque ueram^s crucem in cordibus uestris recta fide et inconcussa pingite, et^t confortamini^t in spe, quoniam crux non deserit sperantes in se, nisi prius ipsa deseratur.

^a malabiis with ma- expunctuated V ^b corrected from dampnatiis A
^c michi P ^d repeated P ^e inequitate A ^f lignum V ^g add. V
^h crus P ^{i-t} om. P ^j prothoplasto corrected from protoplaste C, protoplaste AP
^k michi VP ^l add. V ^m lingno V ⁿ heeu (with first -e- expunctuated) C ^{o-o} in mg. P ^p fortitudinem P ^{q-q} spiritualiter iam dudum V
^r specialiter P ^s corrected from uerem A ^{t-t} repeated, with second instance crossed out V

**XIV *About the capture of the Holy Cross, King Guy,
and the others***

Then the Saracens gathered around the Lord's Cross, the king, and the others, destroying the Church. What more? The Saracens prevailed against the Christians and did to them whatever they wished. Woe is me! What should I say? It is better to wail and lament than to say anything. Woe is me! Should I say with unclean lips how the precious Cross of the Lord of our redemption was touched by the damned hands of the damned? Woe to wretched me, that in the days of my wretched life I am forced to see such things! And also woe to the sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, through whom the faith of all Christians is profaned, and for whom Christ is forced to be whipped and crucified once more. Oh, dear and sweet Cross, dripping with and bathed in the blood of the Son of God! O nourishing Cross, on which our salvation hung, through which both the bond of death was erased and the life that was lost in the first man was recovered!⁹⁰ Why should I live any longer, now that the wood of life has been taken away? And truly I believe that it has been taken, since the faith of the Cross of the Son has vanished—because it is impossible to please God without faith. Woe to us wretched ones who have lost our armour because of our sins.⁹¹ The Cross of our salvation has been taken away, the worthy [thing] carried off unworthily by the unworthy—oh, alas!⁹² It is no wonder that they lost the physical substance of the Holy Cross by the strength of visible enemies: they had lost it spiritually long before in mind and spirit, failing in good works of righteousness. Lament over this, all you worshippers of the Cross, and wail, and paint the True Cross in your hearts with honest and unshaken faith, and be strengthened in hope, since the Cross does not forsake those who trust in it unless it is first forsaken itself.

⁹⁰ This is a reference to the fall of man in Genesis 3. Colossians 2:13–14 gives a similar message.

⁹¹ Ephesians 6:13 exhorts Christians to equip themselves with the 'armour of God' (*armatura Dei*).

⁹² According to the Old French texts, a Templar brother later claimed to have buried the Cross on the battlefield, but a secret expedition to recover it failed to find it after digging for three days. See *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIV (p. 170); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xliiii (pp. 65–6); and Lyon *Eracles*, §42, p. 54 (trans. Edbury, pp. 46–7). Ibn Shaddād, p. 202 says that Queen Tamar of Georgia offered Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 200,000 dinars to purchase the True Cross after Ḥaṭṭīn, but that the offer was refused. We owe this observation to Mamuka Tsurtsunia, 'The True Cross in the armies of the Georgians and the Frankish East', *Crusades*, vol. 12 (2013), pp. 91–102, here p. 93.

Quid plura? Capta est crux, et rex, et magister milicie templi, et episcopus Liddensis,^a et frater^b regis, et templarii, et hospitalarii, et marchio de monte ferrat,^c atque omnes uel mortui uel capti sunt. Contritus^d est autem exercitus christianorum occisione, captiuitate, fuga^e miserabili,^f inimicis uero suis^g spolia eorum detrahentibus et diidentibus.^h Humiliauit ergo deusⁱ populum suum inclinando calicem de manu sua, et propinando^j uinum amaritudinis usque ad fecem. Verumptamen fex eius non est exinanita, bibunt adhuc^k Sarraceni ex eodem calice fecem dampnationis usque ad fundum.^l Super hoc condoluit propheta David, dicens: 'Populum tuum domine humiliauerunt et hereditatem tuam uexauerunt uiduam^m et aduenam inter<fecerunt> et pu<pillos> occi<derunt>.' Vsquequo, domine, hec facient? Donec fodiaturⁿ peccatori fouea et iusticia conuertatur in iudicium. Tunc quidem reddet illis iniquitatem ipsorum, et in ma<litia> eorum dis<perdet> eos scilicet^o Sarracenos. O propheta, nobis quid dicitis? Vos qui plantati estis in domo domini et in atriis eius floretis, uenite exultemus domino et cetera, quoniam deus magnus dominus quia non repellet^p plebem suam, et hereditatem suam non derelinquet.

^a liddendensis with superfluous -den- expunctuated C ^b fratres with -es expunctuated C ^c first -r- interlin. in different ink V ^d Contristatus with -sta- expunctuated C, altered from Contristatus A ^e -que interlin. V ^f miserabili A ^g om. P ^h di- interlin. A ⁱ interlin. A, om. P ^j altered to propinandot (with -t expunctuated) V ^k repeated after saraceni P ^l funicium P ^m om. P ⁿ corrected from fodeatur AV, fodeatur (with -e- expunctuated) P ^o add. V ^p corrected from repellat A

What more? The Cross was captured, as were the king, the master of the Order of the Temple, the bishop of Lydda,⁹³ the king's brother,⁹⁴ the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the marquis of Montferrat.⁹⁵ Everyone was either killed or taken captive. The army of the Christians was destroyed by slaughter, captivity, [and] wretched flight, while their enemies carried off and shared the spoils. Then God humbled his people, tilting the chalice from his own hand and giving them the wine of bitterness to drink right down to the dregs. Yet its dregs are not emptied. The Saracens still drink the dregs of damnation from the same chalice right to the bottom.⁹⁶ The prophet David lamented greatly over this, saying: 'Thy people, O Lord, they have brought low, and they have afflicted thy inheritance. They have slain the widow and the stranger, and they have murdered the fatherless.' Until when, O Lord, will they do this? Until a pit be dug for the sinner and justice be turned into judgement. Then, indeed, he will render them their iniquity, and in their malice he will destroy them (that is, the Saracens). O prophet, what are you saying to us? You who are planted in the house of the Lord and flourish in his courts, 'Come, let us praise the Lord', et cetera, 'for the Lord is a great God, since he will not cast off his people, neither will he forsake his own inheritance.'⁹⁷

⁹³ A letter that Patriarch Eraclius allegedly sent to Pope Urban III in September 1187 claims that Bishop Bernard was killed in the battle: see Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. 38 (1982), pp. 112–22. A letter dated 1–12 October 1187 from Patriarch Aimery of Antioch 'to all Christians' also mentions the deaths of the bishops of Lydda and Acre: Mayer, 'Zwei unedierte texte', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, vol. 47/8 (2001–2), pp. 100–3, no. 2.

⁹⁴ Aimery of Lusignan, constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem (1179–1191), count of Jaffa (1193–1194), and king of Jerusalem (*r.* 1197–1205).

⁹⁵ William V 'the Old', marquis of Montferrat, father of William 'Longsword' († 1177, first husband of Queen Sibylla) and grandfather of King Baldwin V. He came to the East in 1185 and was given a castle known as Saint Elias, according to the Lyon *Eracles*, §10, pp. 24–5 (trans. Edbury, p. 18). *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XI (p. 126) says that it was near the Mount of Temptation (see Gazetteer). William was released from captivity in May 1188, but he died at the siege of Acre on 8 December 1191: see *IP1*, p. 275; Mayer, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, p. 907.

⁹⁶ Psalm 74:9; Isaiah 51:17: 'Arise; arise; stand up, O Jerusalem, which hast drunk at the hand of the Lord the cup of his wrath. Thou hast drunk even to the bottom of the cup of dead sleep, and thou hast drunk even to the dregs.'

⁹⁷ This passage borrows heavily from Psalms 93:5–6; 93:13, 15, 23; 91:14; 94:1–3; 93:14.

Altera autem die occiso principe Reginaldo Montis Regalis, templariis quoque et hospitalariis sub precio emptionis ab aliis Turcis comparatis atque occisis, mandauit Saladinus ad comitissam et ad uiros qui erant in arce Tiberiadis, ut castellum relinquerent atque accepta securitate uite quo uellent irent in pace. Qui et ita fecerunt relicta ciuitate. Inde transiens Saladinus munito castello, profectus est Saphorie atque in loco quo exercitus christianorum solebat habitare iussit rex Sirie figere tentoria sua, ut sicut campum debellatis christianis [fol. 9v] optinuerat, sic quoque et locum tabernaculorum. Ibi autem per aliquos dies demoratus est celebrans gaudium uictorie et diuidens non heredibus^a hereditatem crucifixi, sed ducibus et amiralibus^b suis nefandis, unicuique propriam partem designans.

^a heredibus et *P*

^b mirabilibus *P*

The next day,⁹⁸ after Prince Reynald of Montréal had been killed and the Templars and the Hospitallers had been purchased from the other Turks and slaughtered,⁹⁹ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sent [messages] to the countess and the men who were in the citadel of Tiberias, [saying] that they should abandon the citadel and, with their lives guaranteed, go in peace wherever they wished.¹⁰⁰ They did so, and abandoned the city. Moving out from that place after he had garrisoned the citadel, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn departed for Ṣaffūrīyah, and in the place where the Christian army was accustomed to encamp, the king of Syria gave the command to pitch his tents, so that, just as he had taken the field of battle after vanquishing the Christians, so also he took the place of their tents.¹⁰¹ There he stayed for a few days, celebrating the joy of victory and dividing the inheritance of the Crucified One not with

⁹⁸ According to other accounts, Reynald was executed on the same day. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn killed Reynald because in 1182–1183 he had launched a naval raid on the Red Sea against Mecca and Medina, and, in violation of the truce between Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and the kingdom of Jerusalem, in early 1187 he had attacked and killed the members of a caravan passing from Damascus to Egypt via Krak de Montréal. See *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XV (p. 174); Lyon *Eracles* §43, p. 55 (trans. Edbury, pp. 47–8); *IP1*, p. 259; Ibn Shaddād, p. 74; ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 27; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, pp. 323–4; Abū Shāma, pp. 278–80; Ibn al-‘Adīm, p. 180; and *History of the Patriarchs*, p. 121. In a letter recorded by ‘Imād al-Dīn (in Abū Shāma, p. 299), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn refers to an earlier vow that he had made to kill Reynald.

⁹⁹ *IP1*, pp. 259–60 reports the slaughter of the Templars but does not mention the Hospitallers; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 21, following the *Libellus*, includes both (see Appendix 1). The story that they were bought for 50 dinars each from those who had taken them prisoner and then immediately executed is confirmed by ‘Imād al-Dīn, pp. 30–1 and Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 324. Ibn Shaddād, p. 74 and *History of the Patriarchs*, p. 121 mention the execution but not the purchase.

¹⁰⁰ See also *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XV (p. 174); Lyon *Eracles*, §44, p. 56 (trans. Edbury, pp. 48–9); Ibn Shaddād, p. 75; ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 31; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 324; Abū Shāma, pp. 276–7; and Ibn al-‘Adīm, p. 18.

¹⁰¹ The Latin word for ‘tents’ here is *tabernaculi*, both describing the physical replacement of the Christians’ tents and signifying the overthrow of their own metaphorical ‘tabernacle’, thus reinforcing the author’s ongoing parallel between the Christians defeated in 1187 and the Israelites lost in the wilderness in Exodus, Numbers, and so on: see Isaiah 54:2. This sojourn at Ṣaffūrīyah is not otherwise reported in the Latin, French, or Arabic sources. After his victory at Ḥaṭṭīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn returned to Tiberias on Sunday, 5 July and received the surrender of the city. According to Ibn Shaddād, p. 75, Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, pp. 324–5, and Ibn al-‘Adīm, p. 181, he remained at Tiberias until Tuesday 7 July and reached Acre on Wednesday 8 July. ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 32 and Abū Shāma, p. 293 (quoting ‘Imād al-Dīn) say that he camped overnight on 7/8 July at Lūbiya. As this is about 15 km east of Ṣaffūrīyah, it may have given rise to the idea that he had encamped at Ṣaffūrīyah itself.

Interim de Saladino et factis eius taceamus, qualiter scilicet perambulavit regionem Fenicis usque ad flumen canis et debellavit eam, atque quomodo frater eius Sefidin^a et ceteri regionem Geraris et Philistinorum inuaserunt dicamus.^b

^asephidin V

^bpossibly written over erasure C

[its] heirs but with his impious commanders and emirs, assigning to each one of them his own share.

In the meantime, let us not speak about Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his doings (that is, how he went through the region of **Phoenicia** as far as the **Dog River**, and conquered it);¹⁰² but let us speak of how his brother, Saif al-Dīn,¹⁰³ and others attacked the region of **Gerar** and of the Philistines.

¹⁰² Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn turned north from Acre, which he captured on 9 July, to attack Tibnīn (surrendered 26 July), Sidon (surrendered 29 July), and Beirut (surrendered 6 August): for overviews of the campaign, see Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 267–72; Anne-Marie Eddé, *Saladin*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, Mass., 2011), pp. 215–16.

¹⁰³ al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Saif al-Dīn Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, governor of Egypt and later sultan (*r.* 1200–1218). Referred to as *Safadinus* or *Saphadinus* (Saif al-Dīn) in most Western sources.

XV De inuasionē Saphadini

Audiens autem Sefidin^a frater Saladini quod christiani essent deuicti, qui Sefhidin iam dudum cum exercitu suo quem de Egypto conduxerat ab reliquiis Ierusalem et habitatoribus regionis Geraris et Philistiim^b fugatus fuerat, reuersus est, et ascendit cum multitudine graui quam de Alexandria^c et Babilone et Campo Tafneos collegerat,^d super omnem regionem a Darone et Gazaris usque Ierusalem, et per circuitum usque Cesaream^e Palestinam^f omnes ciuitates et castella omnia confringendo et^g interficiendo^g habitatores et captiuando, et loca omnia^h possidendo, atque suis amiralibus partes terrarum largiter tribuendo. Et quoniam Ascalonemⁱ ciuitatem Palestine regionis nobilissimam muris fortissimis et altis turribus munitam non poterat expugnare, sed neque castellum Gazaris milicie templi, transiuit per castellum Ybelim et debellauit, atque flammis tradidit.

^asephindin with medial -n- expunctuated V ^b-im interlin. A ^calexandrina with second -n- expunctuated V ^dcolligerat AP ^ecorrected from cesaleam V ^faltered to palestina V ^{g-g}interlin. A ^homnium CAP ⁱfollowed by short erasure V

XV *About the attack of Saif al-Dīn*¹⁰⁴

Hearing that the Christians had been overthrown, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother Saif al-Dīn returned. (This Saif al-Dīn, with his army that he had led up from Egypt, had long before been put to flight by those left behind in Jerusalem, and the inhabitants of the region of **Gerar** and of Palestine.)¹⁰⁵ With a great number of men that he had gathered from Alexandria, Cairo, and **Tanis** he went up over the whole region from Daron and **Gaza** as far as Jerusalem, and by a roundabout way as far as Caesarea of Palestine,¹⁰⁶ destroying all the cities and castles, and killing and capturing the inhabitants, taking possession of all places, and liberally allotting portions of [these] lands to his emirs. And since he was neither able to capture Ascalon, the most renowned city of the region of Palestine, which was defended by very strong walls and high towers, nor the castle of **Gaza** of the Order of the Temple, he went over to the castle of Ibelin, conquered it, and consigned it to flames.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ On the campaign of Saif al-Dīn, see Introduction pp. 33–4.

¹⁰⁵ This is probably a reference to Saif al-Dīn's attack from the south in 1182, intended as a diversion to accompany Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's own attack on Beirut: see Lyons and Jackson, pp. 168–71; William of Tyre, 22.18 (17), pp. 1033–4 (trans. vol. 2, pp. 475–7). William makes no mention of a defeat inflicted on Saif al-Dīn, however. It could also be a reference to the Battle of Montgisard (near Ascalon) in 1177, before which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's armies came up from Egypt via Palestine, but Saif al-Dīn was not with the army. The author could be mistaking Saif al-Dīn for Taqī al-Dīn, a nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was at Montgisard.

¹⁰⁶ Caesarea had been taken earlier, while Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was still at Acre, by the emir Badr al-Dīn Dildirim al-Yārūqī and others, together with Haifa and, according to Abū Shāma, Arsuf: see Ibn Shaddād, pp. 75–6; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 326; 'Imād al-Dīn, p. 35; and Abū Shāma, p. 301.

¹⁰⁷ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 22 repeats this passage almost verbatim. See Appendix 1.

XVI *De captione Iopen^a*

Inde applicuit ad ciuitatem Iopen. Set quia non erat munita nec hominibus nec muris, presertim cum fortes et ualentes per mare ad ciuitatem Tyrum confugerant, debellauit eam,^b et cepit cum multitudine hominum et feminarum a quibus fuga perierat, et precium nauli defecerat. Fit igitur strages magna et^c miserabilis per totam regionem, fetorque intolerabilis cadauerum christianorum, quoniam non erat locus in tota terra in quo non iacerent corpora putrida, et tumida, quia non erat qui sepeliret. Ceteri autem qui gladium et arma prophanorum non senserunt, relictis omnibus ut corpora ad tempus saluarent, fugerunt in Ierusalem. Et isti quidem fugientes arma ferrea Babilioniorum, irruerunt in arcum ereum peccatorum suorum, secum scilicet portantes, que utinam in campestribus cum Babiloniis reliquissent. Percurrens denique Sefidin [fol. 10r] totam regionem illam, peruenit ad castellum quod uocatur Mirabel,^d atque obsidionem posuit, direxit machinas, et per aliquot dies sibi resistentes acerrime debellauit. Cumque uiri qui erant in munitione uiderunt se non posse resistere, pietate paruulorum et uxorū commoti dextras postulabant. Data autem securitate,^e eiecit eos inde, et ne ab aliis Sarracenis interficerentur in itinere, dedit duces usque .CCCC.^f turcos fortissimos, quatinus usque ad cenobium sancti Samuelis quod situm est in Monte Sylo miliario^g secundo ab Ierusalem,^h deducerent saluos. Deduxerunt autem illos usque ad Montem Gaudii Ierusalem, sedⁱ fugati sunt et percussi a templariis et a^j uiris Ierusalem, cecideruntque uulnerati multi per descensum^k Montis Modin, et ita confusi redierunt.

^aioppen C ^brepeated P ^cinterlin. A ^d-i- interlin. V ^ecorrected from securitatem A ^fccctos P ^gmiliatio A, milicio P ^hierusalom P
ⁱinterlin. in different hand A ^jadd. V ^kdecensum CAP

XVI *About the capture of Jaffa*

From there he came to the city of Jaffa, but because it had not been fortified by either men or walls, especially since the brave and the strong had fled by sea to the city of Tyre, he subdued and captured it together with a great number of men and women who had not been able to flee and lacked the money for passage [by boat]. Then there was a great and wretched slaughter throughout the whole region, and the stench of the Christians' bodies was unbearable, because there was no place in the whole land in which rotting and bloated corpses did not lie, for there was nobody to bury them. The others, who did not experience the swords and weapons of the profane ones, fled to Jerusalem, having left everything behind to save their bodies for a time. And these people, indeed, fleeing the iron weapons of the Babylonians, fell upon the brass bow of their sins,¹⁰⁸ carrying with them precisely what they ought to have left on the plains with the Babylonians.¹⁰⁹

Overrunning that whole region, Saif al-Dīn then came to the castle called Mirabel, and laid siege [to it].¹¹⁰ He arranged the siege engines and for several days assaulted most vigorously those resisting him. And when the men who were in the fortress saw that they could not resist, moved by love of their small children and their wives, they asked for peace. Having granted them safety, [Saif al-Dīn] threw them out from there and, lest they be killed on the way by other Saracens, he provided up to four hundred very strong Turks as guides, so that they might conduct [them] safely to the monastery of St Samuel, which is situated on **Mount Shiloh**, two miles from Jerusalem.¹¹¹ They led them as far as **Montjoie of Jerusalem**, but they were put to flight and struck by the Templars and by the men of Jerusalem, and many fell wounded across the slope of Mount Modin, and thus they returned in confusion.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ An allusion to Zophar's reflections on the fate of the wicked in Job 20:24: 'He shall flee from weapons of iron and shall fall upon a bow of brass.'

¹⁰⁹ That is, their bodies. The author is expressing that they should have accepted martyrdom.

¹¹⁰ See above, p. 33.

¹¹¹ See Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 85–94 (n° 159); Lyon *Eraclès*, §132, p. 135 (trans. Edbury, p. 111) notes that St Samuel was 'two leagues' (*.ij. liues*) from Jerusalem.

¹¹² Mount Modin was regarded as the burial site of the Maccabees: see Pringle, *Churches*, II, 6. Mount Shiloh and Montjoie of Jerusalem were two different places in the twelfth century; see the *Gazetteer*. A new military order established by Pope Alexander III in 1180 had its base at Montjoie of Jerusalem. They were called the 'House of the Knights of the Temple of Saint Mary of Montjoie of Jerusalem'. It is presumably they whom the author mentions here. See Kedar, 'Jerusalem's Two *Montes Gaudii*', in Micaela Sinibaldi, Kevin Lewis, Balázs Major, and Jennifer Thompson (eds), *Crusader Landscapes in the Medieval Levant: the Archaeology and History of the Latin East* (Cardiff, 2016), pp. 3–19, here p. 11.

Perseuerans autem Sefidin^a in maligna elatione mentis sue contra ecclesiam Christi, omnia montana Belleem^b a meridie et occidente Ierusalem nephandis^c ministris in desolationem uastationis mittere precepit. Et quoniam per diuersas partes terram Ierusalem Sarraceni qui cum Saladino erant inuaserunt, dignum quidem nobis uidetur, sicut uidimus et audiuius breui et impolito^d sermone summam perstringere, atque illis qui nesciunt uel non uiderunt, sicut gestum est ostendere.

Debellatis ergo christianis, dimisit Saladinus exercitum suum quatinus unusquisque cum suis proficisceretur atque partem illam quam datam^e sibi cognouerat^f expugnando habitatores optineret. Profecti sunt autem ueloci cursu, atque totam terram ita subito^g preocupauerunt,^h ut nullus sibi uel alii posset adiutorium impendere. Dispersi igitur sunt cooperiendo superficiemⁱ terre sicut locuste. Ante omnes tamen et pre omnibus auari Turcmanniⁱ et Beduini bona christianorum cupientes, campestria Saronis inuaserunt, ut^k ubi omnia animalia terre simul collecta confugerant, ibi quoque audius cupiditate rapiendi concurrerent, atque impugnando acrius^l habitatores^l et^m perimentes eos ut bona illorumⁿ diriperent. Et isti quidem castellis et domibus non utuntur, sed tantum rapinam diligentes, de rapinis inter ceteros uiuunt. Istis ita percurrentibus, et omnia campestria castella deuastantibus, a Monte [fol. 10v] Carmeli qui et Caifas^o uocatur, in cuius cacumine sita est ecclesia sancti Elye^p prophete super alta rupe que respicit Tholomaidam^q contra mare, signum scilicet oportunum nauigantibus usque Assur transeuntes et Iope et Lidda et ciuitatem Rama occidendo seruos Christi, et bona eorum diripiendo.

^a fidin P ^b bellheem AP ^c nefandis V ^d erasure of one letter between -i- and -t- A ^e dadam CAP, corrected from dadam V
^f congrouerat C ^g om. P ^h sic CAVP ⁱ perficiem P ^j altered to turcimanni A, turci manni P ^k et V ^{l-l} habitatores acrius marked for transposition with double virgules C, erasure between acrius and habitatores A ^m deleted and replaced interlin. by inuaserunt in different hand V
ⁿ eorum V ^o caiphas A, cayphas P ^p helye P ^q tholomaida A

Persisting in the wicked pride of his mind against the Church of Christ, Saif al-Dīn ordered his impious servants to turn the whole mountainous region south of Bethlehem and west of Jerusalem into a desert of desolation. And since the Saracens who were with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn invaded the land of Jerusalem from different sides, it seems proper to us to tell it briefly in a short and unpolished report, just as we saw and heard it, and also to make it known, just as it happened, to those who do not know or did not see [it].

After he had vanquished the Christians, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn dismissed his army, so that each and every one might set out with his [men] and, by conquering the inhabitants, take possession of that region which he knew had been given to him. They set out at a rapid pace and took possession of all the land so suddenly that no one was able to bring help to himself or another. So they dispersed, covering the face of the earth like locusts. Yet first and foremost, the avaricious Turkmens and Bedouin, eager for the goods of the Christians, attacked the plains of **Sharon**, so that they might very greedily rush upon the place where all the animals of the land had taken refuge together. With a lust for pillaging, they assaulted the inhabitants, fighting very keenly and slaying them in order to seize their goods. Indeed, these [Turkmens and Bedouin] do not dwell in castles or houses, but, loving only plunder, they live on what they steal from others.¹¹³ As they overran and laid waste all the castles of the plains in this way, they passed from **Mount Carmel** (which is also called Haifa, on whose summit is situated the Church of Saint Elijah the prophet, above the high rock which looks towards Acre across the sea—a useful landmark for sailors) as far as Arsuf, Jaffa, Lydda, and the city of Ramla, killing the servants of Christ and seizing their property.

¹¹³ On the author's knowledge of Muslim customs and beliefs, see Introduction, pp. 34–6.

XVII *De captione Nazareth^a*

Alii quidem per ciuitatem Nazareth^b que interpretatur flos^c siue munditia ascenderunt, et ecclesiam beate uirginis^d Marie^d effundendo sanguinem christianorum qui inibi confugerant causa munitionis cruentauerunt: ecclesiam inquam sanctam, et ob dulcedinem diuini uerbi incarnati per totum mundum nominatam, et a fidelibus honoratam. Hic uero uerbum patris sicut euuangelium testatur incarnatum est, assumens quod non erat, manens quod erat. Hunc^e locum cepit inhabitare quem locus non comprehendit, et Nazarenus uocari, cuius nomen^f ineffabile^g ab omnibus creaturis in celo et in terra medicina salutis nominatur. O domina, cuius nomen suaue, lucem^h et securitatem et spem uenie infundens peccatoribus, locumⁱ in quo illud aue Gabrielis ab ore suscepisti, per quod Eua mutatur in melius, per quod et redemptus est mundus, et in quo loco tantum beneficium accepisti ut mater dei uocareris et esses, quare^j dimisisti, et ab incredulis coinquinari et explanari^k permisisti? Certe non dimisit, sed lauit atque purgauit^l et^m mundauit a malisⁿ cultoribus^o per infideles ministros, donec cultores^p idonei^q eligantur, et secundum uoluntatem et dispositionem gloriose uirginis introducantur. Destructa^r ciuitate locisque^s sacris fedatis, arripuerunt filii Sodomorum iter suum per abrupta

^a nazaret P ^b nazaret CAVP ^c interlin. in different hand V ^{d-d} marie uirginis AP ^e H- altered from lowercase h- in darker ink C ^f nomem A ^g in- written over erasure V ^h corrected from lueem C ⁱ loco with final -o expunctuated V ^j interlin. in different hand C ^k corrected from explanare V ^l initial -u- interlin. A ^m interlin. A ⁿ mali AP ^o -t- interlin. A ^p -l- interlin. A ^q tydonei P ^r -r- interlin. A ^s -que deleted then added again in different hand A

XVII *About the capture of Nazareth*

Others went up through the city of Nazareth (which is translated as ‘flower’ or ‘cleanness’)¹¹⁴ and stained the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary by spilling the blood of the Christians who had taken refuge there for protection¹¹⁵—a holy church, I say, renowned throughout the whole world and honoured by the faithful because of the sweetness of the divine Word incarnate. Here the Word of the Father was made flesh, as the Gospel testifies, taking up that which he was not while remaining that which he was.¹¹⁶ He whom no place contains, whose ineffable name is called the medicine of salvation by all creatures in heaven and on earth, undertook to live in this place and to be called a Nazarene.¹¹⁷ O Lady, whose sweet name [pours] light, security, and hope of forgiveness upon sinners: why have you abandoned and allowed the infidels to defile and raze the place where you received that ‘Hail’ (*Ave*) from the mouth of Gabriel, through which ‘Eve’ (*Eva*) is changed for the better and the world was redeemed, and where you received a privilege so great that you were called—and [became]—the Mother of God?¹¹⁸ Certainly, she has not abandoned it, but rather washed, purified, and cleansed it of evil worshippers by means of infidel agents, until worthy worshippers may be chosen and brought in according to the will and arrangement of the glorious Virgin.

When they had destroyed the city and defiled the holy places, the sons of Sodom made their way through the steep parts of the mountain which

¹¹⁴ Jerome, *Liber interpretationis*, p. 136.

¹¹⁵ ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 34, describes the emir Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökböri’s enslavement of a group of Nazarene women.

¹¹⁶ This is an allusion to the Word’s assumption of human flesh in the form of Christ (see John 1:1–14), who was thought to have retained his essential divinity (‘remaining that which he was’) despite adopting the physical form of a mortal being (‘taking up that which he was not’).

¹¹⁷ Matthew 2:23: ‘And [Joseph] came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that what was said by the prophets might be fulfilled: “He shall be called a Nazarene.”’ The phrase ‘medicine of salvation’ (*medicina salutis*) has a long pedigree in Latin exegesis: see, for example, Ambrose of Milan, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, in *PL*, vol. 15, col. 1631A.

¹¹⁸ Luke 1:28. The notion that the angel Gabriel’s salutation (*Ave*) to Mary, mother of the saviour of mankind, transformed the name of Eve (*Eva*), symbolic mother of the human race and source of original sin, was very common in twelfth- and thirteenth-century exegesis: see, for example, Absalon of Springiersbach, *Sermo XXII, In annunciatione beatae Mariae*, in *PL*, vol. 211, col. 131B–C. It also features in the seventh- or eighth-century antiphon *Ave maris stella* for the feast of the Annunciation. See Frederic J. E. Raby (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* (Oxford, 1959), p. 94 (n° 71): ‘Taking up that “Ave” in Gabriel’s mouth, establish us in peace, changing the name of Eve.’ (*Sumens illud Ave / Gabrielis ore, / funda nos in pace / mutans nomen Evae.*)

montis qui uocatur Saltus Domini, sicut in euuangelio^a legitur quod indignati Pharisei de uerbis Iesu eiecerunt illum extra ciuitatem, et duxerunt illum ad supercilium montis super quem^b ciuitas illorum^c erat edificata ut precipitarent illum. Inde transeuntes per latissimum campum qui est inter montem Tabor et Legionem, et dispersi sunt per campestria omnia depredantes, et percurrentes a monte Caim et castello milicie templi quod uocatur Faba usque Legionem et Gesrael. Nemine^d autem eis resistente, transierunt per angusta itinera montium, et per ecclesiam [fol. 11r] beati Iob qui interpretatur dolens, uerum Iob nescientes qui peccata nostra dolens portauit. Qui etiam testa^e humanitatis sue saniem peccatorum nostrorum radebat atque uermes^f uitiorum quos^g Adam per inobedientiam comparauerat,^h per sue carnis hostiam uiuam patri obediens offerendo extersit. Inde ascenderunt campum magnum Dotaym,ⁱ Cisternam quoque Ioseph admirantes,^j uenditionemque tractantes, et qualiter Egiptum^k fame irruente prouidentia liberauerit, nostrum Ioseph de supernis montibus a patre ad fratres, scilicet ad Iudeos in campestria^l nostre mortalitatis missum non attendentes, cuius uenditio, emptio, mors, et resurrectio, mundum a fame diuini uerbi periclitantem sanauit.

^a inuuangelio with -e- interlin. A ^b quam P ^c eorum P ^d nomina P
^e corrected from teste V ^f in mg. C, interlin. in different hand A ^g interlin. C
^h comparauit P ⁱ dotaim AVP ^j ammirantes AP ^k egyptum P
^l-i- interlin. V, campestriam followed by expunctuated-s P

is called **the Lord's Leap**, since it is read in the Gospel that the Pharisees, angered by Jesus's words, drove him out of the city and led him to the summit of the mountain upon which their city had been built so that they might cast him down.¹¹⁹ From there, crossing the very wide plain that is between Mount Tabor and Lajjun, they were dispersed across the plains, plundering everything and running all the way from Caymont and the castle of the Order of the Temple that is called La Fève as far as Lajjun and **Jezreel**.¹²⁰ Without encountering any resistance, they went over by way of the narrow mountain paths and the **Church of St Job** ([whose name] is translated as 'suffering'), not knowing the true Job, who, suffering, bore our sins.¹²¹ With the potsherd of his humanity, he also scraped away the diseased matter of our sins, and, obeying the Father by making a living sacrifice of his own flesh, he wiped away the worms of vices that Adam had made through his disobedience.¹²²

From there they went up to the great plain of Dothan, also admiring the **Cistern of Joseph** and discussing [his] sale and how he delivered Egypt from the oncoming famine through foresight,¹²³ [but] not heeding our Joseph, who was sent from the heavenly mountains by the Father to his brothers (that is, to the Jews) on the plains of our mortality.¹²⁴ His sale, purchase, death, and Resurrection cleansed the world imperilled by a famine of the divine Word.

¹¹⁹ Luke 4:28–30. See the Gazetteer entry on the **Lord's Leap**.

¹²⁰ For these locations, see the Gazetteer entry on the **Jezreel Valley**.

¹²¹ Christ is the 'true Job'. See the Gazetteer entry on the **Church of St Job**.

¹²² See Job 2:7–8: 'So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord and struck Job with a very grievous ulcer from the sole of the foot even to the top of his head, and he took a potsherd and scraped the corrupt matter, sitting on a dunghill.'

¹²³ Genesis 37–41. On Dothan (*Dotaym*) and the cistern of Joseph, see above, c. VI.

¹²⁴ 'Our Joseph' is Christ.

XVIII *De^a Samaria et Neapoli^a*

Terram autem^b ita deuastando, peruenerunt usque ad montem Someron quondam Samaria ciuitas^c regalis in Israel, a quo monte omnis illa regio nomen accepit Sorecd. Vnde dominus per prophetam:^d ‘Plantauit^e inquit uineam Sorecd.’ Et ne ab aliquo dubitaretur de qua uinea diceret, exponit dicens: ‘Vinea enim domini Sabbaoth^f domus Israel est.’ Nunc quoque Sebasten uocatur ubi condite sunt reliquie sancti^g Iohannis baptiste, Zacharie et Elizabeth^h parentum eius, sed et aliorum prophetarum multorum. Episcopum autem loci illius repperientes hominem satis humanum et honestum quem utⁱ thesauros^j ecclesie et margaritas porcis ostenderet contumeliis multis afficientes ad^k ultimum optata adipiscentes, nudum et diris uerberibus flagellatum data securitate uite miserunt Accaron. Properabant^l autem filii Babilonis ut Neapolim destruerent. Sed quoniam uiri Neapolis omnes confugerant in Ierusalem relinquentes omnia sua in ciuitate, neminem inuenerunt^m nisi paucos in castello qui causa custodiendi suppellectilem burgensium quam inibi conportauerant reliquerant,ⁿ illis quidem eiectis possederunt^o castellum cum ciuitate. Nec quidem tantis malis perpetratis^p saciati, sed predam sicientes^q et montana Ierusalem uidere cupientes,

^{a-a} om. P ^b om. V ^c followed by erasure P ^d strictly speaking, only V has the correct abbreviation for per prophetam here ^e corrected from Plantauit C
^f sabaoth P ^g followed by erasure P ^h elizabeht C, elizabet V ⁱ interlin. A
^j tesaurus C, thesaurus P ^k affd with -ff- expunctuated C, interlin. A ^l properebant AP
^m corrected from inuenirent P ⁿ relinquerant AP ^o possiderunt P
^p propetratis P ^q scicientes AP

XVIII *About Samaria and Nablus*¹²⁵

Laying waste the land in this way, they came to **Mount Someron**, formerly Samaria, a royal city in Israel, from which mountain that whole region receives the name 'Sorek'. Whence the Lord [said] through the prophet: 'I have planted the vineyard of Sorek.' And so that nobody may doubt which vineyard he was speaking of, he explained, saying: 'For the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is the house of Israel.'¹²⁶ Now it is also called **Sebaste**, where the relics of St John the Baptist, of his parents Zachariah and Elizabeth, and also of many other prophets are kept. Discovering the bishop of that place—a rather gentle and virtuous man—[and], inflicting many torments on him so that he would reveal the treasures and pearls of the Church to swine, they ultimately [obtained] what they desired. They flogged him with fearful blows and sent him naked to Acre, having guaranteed the security of his life.¹²⁷

The sons of Babylon then hastened to destroy Nablus. But since all the men of Nablus had fled to Jerusalem, leaving all their property in the city, [the Muslims] found nobody except a few in the castle, who remained behind to guard the burgesses' goods, which they had brought inside.¹²⁸ Having driven them out, they took possession of the castle along with the city. Nor indeed were they satisfied with having carried out such great evils, but thirsting for booty and desiring to see the mountains of Jerusalem,

¹²⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 326 and 'Imād al-Dīn, pp. 35–6 say that, while he was at Acre, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sent Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Umar ibn Lājīn to occupy Sebaste and Nablus. See also Abū Shāma, pp. 301–2.

¹²⁶ Isaiah 5:7. In Isaiah 5, the prophet laments that a vineyard must be destroyed because it produced bad grapes. The 'vineyard' is a common symbol of the house of Israel in the Old Testament. In the author's allegory, the vineyard is the Kingdom of Jerusalem, while the 'bad grapes' are its Christian inhabitants. The author seems once again to be suggesting that his fellow Christians were culpable for the conquest of the Holy Land in 1187.

¹²⁷ The bishop of Sebaste was Ralph (c. 1170–c. 1187). He was a prior in the 1160s but may have become bishop by 1169, and had certainly come to occupy this position by 1170: see RRRH nos 733, 803, 829, 853. Ralph had previously engaged with Muslim raiders in 1184, releasing 80 prisoners in return for the safety of the settlement: see Lyons and Jackson, p. 219. Regarding our author's knowledge of Ralph, see Introduction, p. 20. We have translated the adjective 'humanus' as 'gentle' because this meaning contrasts with the torture; 'humanus' could also mean 'learned' or 'refined'. 'Imād al-Dīn alleges that, prior to 1187, the Christians had only allowed Muslims to visit the shrine of St John the Baptist if they brought with them costly gifts; Ḥusām al-Dīn was therefore only repatriating Muslim wealth: see Lyons and Jackson, p. 268, which cites al-Bundārī's abridgment of 'Imād al-Dīn's *Sanā al-Barq al-Shāmī*, which is yet to receive a translation into a European language.

¹²⁸ Literally, this passage reads: '[the Muslims] found nobody except a few in the castle, who had left behind the burgesses' goods, which they had brought inside to guard (them)'.

celeri cursu transierunt per ecclesiam in^a nomine^a saluatoris ad radicem montis Garizim^b supra puteum Iacob edificatam, iuxta prediolum quod dedit Iacob^c Ioseph filio suo, super quo dominus fa [fol. 11v] tigatus ex itinere sedens cum muliere samaritana loquebatur dicens ei omnia quecumque fecit. Inde ascenderunt montana omniaque^d castella et uillulas^e francorum ex illa^f parte confringentes, et usque Ierusalem die noctuque quicquid uiuum inueniri poterat interficiendo uel depredando^g percurrentes^g uastauerunt. Alii autem ex altera parte montis Tabor per Endor et Naim et^h per medium magni campi qui est inter montem Taborⁱ et Beluer usque Betsan iter suum arripuerunt,^j atque per crepidinem Iordanis aluei usque Ierico properantes, et locum in quo saluator noster .XL. diebus et .XL. noctibus ut nos temptamenta diaboli et uicia carnis per ieiunium uincere benigne doceret, ieiunauit, debellatis habitatoribus atque eiectis destruxerunt. Inde ascenderunt montana et castellum militum templi quod situm est in loco qui uocatur Maledoim,^k latine autem Ascensus Rufforum siue Rubencium propter sanguinem qui illic crebro a latronibus funditur appellari potest, uel sicut nos dicimus Rubra Cisterna, nemine^l inuenito possederunt. Istit igitur ita inter se montana Ierusalem per circuitum deuastantibus neminem sine mortis periculo sinebant exire uel intrare ciuitatem. Sic sicque Ierosolimita undique coangustati et sine obsidione obsessi, longa expectatione belli et timore uenture famis in se ipsos lacrimabiliter tabescebant.^m

^{a-a} in mg. P ^b garizini with g- altered from illegible letter A, garizini P
^c -b interlin. A ^d -que interlin. A ^e followed by erasure A ^f -a- written over erasure A ^{g-g} percurrentes depredando (followed by erasure) V ^h om. P
ⁱ taberer CAP, corrected from taberer V ^j abbreviation for -n- interlin. V ^k maledoim (with insertion point marked after -d-) P ^l neminem with -m expunctuated A, neminem P ^m tacebant P

they marched rapidly past the **Church in the Name of the Saviour** at the foot of Mount Garizim above Jacob's Well, built next to the little farm that Jacob gave to Joseph, his son; sitting above this [well], the Lord, wearied by his journey, spoke with the Samaritan woman, telling her everything she had done.¹²⁹ Then they went up into the mountains and laid waste all the castles and villages of the Franks in that region, and running as far as Jerusalem they laid waste by day and night, killing everything they found alive, and pillaging.

Others made their way from the other side of Mount Tabor through **Endor** and Na'im and down the middle of the great plain which is between Mount Tabor and Belvoir as far as Baisan. Hastening along the bank of the Jordan River as far as Jericho, after they had subdued and thrown out the inhabitants they destroyed the place where our Saviour fasted for forty days and forty nights so that he might benevolently teach us through fasting to conquer the temptations of the devil and the vices of the flesh.¹³⁰ From there they went up into the mountains and, when they found nobody there, took possession of the castle of the Knights of the Temple which is situated in the place called Ma'ale Adumim (in Latin it can be called the 'Ascent of the Red' or '[Ascent of] the Reddened', on account of the blood which was frequently poured out there by brigands), or as we say, the '**Red Cistern**'.¹³¹

While these men were laying waste the mountains all around Jerusalem together in this way, they allowed nobody to leave or enter the city without danger of death. Thus the people of Jerusalem, pressed in on all sides and besieged without a siege by the prolonged expectation of war and fear of impending famine, wasted away mournfully among themselves.

¹²⁹ John 4:5–29.

¹³⁰ See the Gazetteer entry for the **Mount of Temptation**.

¹³¹ See the Gazetteer entry for the **Red Cistern**. The Latin *funditur* is in the present tense (i.e. 'is poured out'). We have translated this in the past tense because the author is here borrowing from Jerome, and it was in Jerome's time that the association between the Red Cistern and brigands makes sense, not in the twelfth century.

XIX *De captione urbis Achon*

Hiis ita^a prelibatis ad^b capud tante iniquitatis stilum uertamus. Peracta denique tanta christianorum cede, cor Saladini eleuatum est, credens se siderum^c altitudinem dampnata uertice pre nimia superbia elationis^d tangere,^d duces et satrapas exercitus sui ad^e se iussit^e conuocare. Quos ita ore superbo alloquitur: 'Fortitudinem et spem christianorum scilicet crucem,^f regem,^g duces et equites, sagittarios et pedites, deus magnus et Maumeht^h cui seruiio et legem obseruo meisⁱ tradidit manibus. Et ecce tota terra plena diuitiis absque^j principe [fol. 12r] et defensore in conspectu uestro est. Surgite^k ergo uiri fortes, bellatores mei, atque terram cum munitionibus meo subicite imperio.' In illa igitur hora precepit rex Damasci^l mouere castra sua contra Accaron ut si quid de populo christiane religionis^m reliquum fuisset, aut ceruicem Maumeth numini nefando inclinasset, aut gladio feriretur. Interim audito regali precepto ululantibus pre gaudio Persis commotus est exercitus barbarorum atque contra Accaron cepit proficisci. Cum autem exercitus ciuitati appropinquasset,ⁿ Accaronite qui relictus fuerant pauci de multis exierunt obuiam Saladino^o de ciuitate, uociferantes et dextras sibi dare postulantes. Demum perpendens^p rex Syrie^q simplicitatem illorum animasque in manibus portantes, homines^r scilicet inermes, fidem et securitatem uite, tuitionemque promisit dicens: 'Sciant omnes^s ad quos^t dominatio mea protendit Accaronitas^u clementiam pietatis mee inuenisse, ita scilicet ut quicumque Sarracenorum alicui christianorum de persona aut de rebus ad ipsos pertinentibus iniuriam^v aut dampnum intulerit,^w periculum dire mortis sciat se meo imperio despecto^x incurrisse.' Capta igitur ciuitate, talem christianis dedit libertatem, ut quicumque in terra marique cum suis uellet abscedere,^y abscederet,^y qui autem sub presidium eius remanere, tuti et securi^z remanerent, qui uero filium dei et crucem uictorie eius

^a itaque V ^b corrected from ada A ^c syderum V, sederum P ^{d-d} tangere elationis marked for transposition with double virgules C ^{e-e} iussit ad se V ^f -u- added above the line V ^g preceded by et P ^h maumeth A, mahumet V, maumeth P ⁱ repeated after tradidit A ^j written over erasure V ^k -te interlin. A ^l preceded by expunctuated sirie C, sirie interlin. A ^m corrected from religiones V ⁿ aproinquasset C, approinquasset A ^o -la- interlin. A ^p propendens P ^q sirie AP ^r followed by hom (crossed out) V ^s corrected from homines A, homines P ^t interlin. A ^u corrected from accaranitas V ^v iniuria AP ^w followed by erasure A ^x -c- interlin. A ^{y-y} abcedere abcederet CAP ^z secure CAP

XIX *About the capture of the city of Acre*

Now that we have given a taste of these things, let us turn our pen to the head of such great evil.

Having at last carried out such a great slaughter of Christians, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's heart was lifted up. Believing in the excessive pride of his elation that he was touching the height of the stars with his damned head, he ordered the leaders and governors of his army to assemble before him. He addressed them with haughty speech: 'The great God and Muḥammad, whom I serve and [whose] law I obey, has delivered into my hands the strength and hope of the Christians, namely the Cross, the king, the commanders and cavalry, the archers and footmen. And behold! The whole land, full of riches, without a prince and defender, is in your sight. Arise, therefore, brave men, my warriors, and subject the land with [its] fortifications to my rule.'

In that hour the king of Damascus ordered his camps to move against Acre, so that if any people of the Christian religion remained, they would either bend the neck to the wicked divinity Muḥammad or be slain by the sword. When the royal order was heard in the meantime, with the Persians howling for joy, the army of the barbarians was set in motion and began to move out against Acre. But when the army had drawn near to the city, the few of the [formerly] many people of Acre who had been left there went out from the city to meet Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, calling out and requesting that he make peace with them.¹³²

At length, considering their candour, and those carrying their souls in [their] hands (that is, the unarmed men), the king of Damascus promised faith, guarantee of life, and protection, saying: 'Let all to whom my dominion extends know that the people of Acre have found the mercy of my love, so that if any of the Saracens should inflict injury or harm on any of the Christians, either on [their] person or on goods belonging to them, let him know that, having scorned my command, he has incurred the danger of a horrible death.'

Then, after the city had been taken, he gave the Christians such freedom that whoever wished to leave by land or sea with his possessions might do so, while those who wished to remain under his protection would remain safe and secure.¹³³ But whoever might wish, instigated by the devil—alas,

¹³² According to the Lyon *Eracles*, §44, p. 56 (trans. Edbury, pp. 48–9), it was Taqī al-Dīn who received the surrender of Acre. The Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xlv (p. 68), *Ernouf-Bernard*, c. XV (p. 174), and *IP1*, p. 261 all say that it was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. According to the Lyon *Eracles*, it was Joscelin of Courtenay, the governor of the city, who came out to surrender the city to the Muslims at Shafa 'Amr. For a discussion of Joscelin's role, see Peter Edbury, 'The Lyon *Eracles* revisited', to be published in a forthcoming festschrift for David Jacoby's ninetieth birthday. We are grateful to Professor Edbury for sharing a copy of this paper with us prior to its publication.

¹³³ This is also reported in the Lyon *Eracles*, §44, pp. 56–7 (trans. Edbury, pp. 48–9).

diabolo instigante uellet pro dolor polluto ore negare, cabanum^a sericum et sarbuissinum^b auro ornatum, equum^c et arma amputato pelliculo membri uerendi ab ipso Saladino acciperet. Madens autem cede et adhuc siciens sanguinem christianorum^d rex Babilonis, unum de filiis suis causa custodiendi ciuitatem reliquit.^e Ipse uero in elatione pessime mentis sue profectus est terram Fenicis regionis cum suis ciuitatibus suo subiugare dominio, sperans sibi et errori suo magnum commodum adquisisse si nomen crucifixi cum habitatoribus terre posset delere.

^a cibantum *V* ^b erasure in middle of word *V* ^c equum *V* ^d id est saladinus *add. in mg. in different hand CV, carried into text before rex Babilonis AP*
^e reliquit *VP*

the grief!—to deny with polluted speech the Son of God and the Cross of his victory, would receive from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself a silken turban and trousers embroidered with gold, [as well as] a horse and arms, once the little piece of skin of his private member had been cut off.¹³⁴ Drenched in gore and still thirsting for the blood of Christians, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the king of Babylon,¹³⁵ left one of his sons to defend the city.¹³⁶ But he himself set out in the pride of his most evil mind for the land of the **Phoenician** region together with his men to subjugate [its] cities to his dominion, hoping that he would acquire great reward for himself and his erroneous [religion] if he could erase the name of the Crucified One along with the inhabitants of the land.

¹³⁴ No other source is known to mention the offer of apostasy, silken trousers, and circumcision, though Abū Shāma (pp. 295–7), following ‘Imād al-Dīn, mentions the surrender and the significant booty received by the Muslims.

¹³⁵ Babilon or Babylon was the name of the ancient fortress at the juncture of the branches of the Nile delta, south of which the Arabs founded al-Fuṣṭāt when they conquered Egypt. The Fāṭimids founded Cairo (*al-Qāhirah*) south of this following their conquest of Egypt in 969. Babylon was a common term for Egypt in the medieval West, perhaps also because of the association between the biblical kings of Babylon (such as Nebuchadnezzar, the mortal enemy of the ancient Israelites) and the Muslims. In Christian exegesis it could also be interpreted as a symbol of sin.

¹³⁶ His eldest son, al-Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn Abū’l Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn († 1225), who later succeeded him as ruler of Damascus.

XX *De Tyro et Sidone*

[fol. 12v] Profectus est ergo cum magna festinatione in partes Tyri ciuitatis muris fortissimis et altis turribus atque maris procinctu satis munita, quam quia ira et dolor christianitatis consilio et uirtute^a armauerat,^b uirum quoque nobilem armis fortem et bellicosum marchisium, animo et dicto et facto uirilem quem nec prece nec precio nec minis nec blandis^c sermonibus poterat seducere^d sed omnibus modis probatum et paratum inuenit,^e transiuit,^e quatinus finitimas ciuitates, Sareptam scilicet ubi Elias^f quondam officio uidue tempore famis quantitate parue farinule^g et modici olei sustentatus est, Sidonem^h quoque et Brito,ⁱ atque Bilem sua ferocitate debellauit,

^a -e written over erasure A ^b ar- written over erasure A, corrected from armauerant V ^c corrected from (?) blandiciis A ^d sed written over erasure V
^{e-e} written over erasure V ^f elyas V, helyas P ^g -ri- written over erasure A
^h sidonenem with superfluous -ne- expunctuated A ⁱ britoi with -i expunctuated V

XX *About Tyre and Sidon*

He accordingly set out with great haste to the region of Tyre, a city amply defended by very strong walls, high towers, and the girdle of the sea.¹³⁷ The anger and grief of Christendom had armed [the city] with counsel and courage, [and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] also found [there] a man who was manly in spirit and speech and deed, a renowned marquis, strong in arms and warlike, whom [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] was unable to seduce by entreaty, gold, threats, or flattering words—[he was] proved and prepared in all ways.¹³⁸ Because of this, [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] passed by [Tyre], in order that he might in his savagery conquer the neighbouring cities: **Ṣarafand**, that is, where Elias was once fed by the kindness of a widow at a time of famine with a small amount of meal and a modicum of oil;¹³⁹ and Sidon, too, and Beirut, and Jubail.¹⁴⁰ And having

¹³⁷ See also *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVI (p. 178) and *Lyon Eracles*, §45, p. 57 (trans. Edbury, pp. 49–51).

¹³⁸ Conrad, marquis of Monterrat (1191–1192), son of William V, brother of William Longsword and Boniface (leader of the Fourth Crusade, uncle of Baldwin V, and *de facto* king of Jerusalem (1191–1192). Conrad had reached Acre shortly after its surrender, so he moved on to Tyre. *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVI (p. 178) agrees that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn passed by Tyre. According to *IP1*, pp. 262–3, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn did actually make an attempt on Tyre before being repulsed. In the *Lyon Eracles*, §49, pp. 61–2 (trans. Edbury, pp. 53–5), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn goes to Tyre to receive its surrender from Reynald of Sidon only to find Conrad in command. The Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xlv (p. 68) merely says that the city was too well-defended by those who had escaped from the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn. Neither Ibn Shaddād, Ibn al-Athīr, nor Ibn al-Adīm make any mention of an attack on Tyre at this time, but in a letter that ‘Imād al-Dīn claimed to have written to the *dīwān* in Baghdad on behalf of the sultan, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn announced that he had sent Taqī al-Dīn to besiege Tyre: see Abū Shāma, p. 306. On Conrad of Montferrat, see David Jacoby, ‘Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1187–1192)’, in Laura Balletto (ed.), *Atti del Congresso Internazionale ‘Dai feudi monferrini e dal Piemonte ai nuovi mondi oltre gli Oceani’* (Alessandria: Accademia degli Immobili, 1993), pp. 187–238; reprinted in idem, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), n° IV.

¹³⁹ 3 Kings (1 Kings) 17:10–16; see also Luke 4:25–6. On Ṣarafand (*Sarepta*) and the Chapel of St Elias located there, see Pringle, *Churches*, II, 281–2 (n° 224). No other Western source mentions Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s attack on Ṣarafand. According to Ibn Shaddād, p. 247, Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 327, and ‘Imād al-Dīn, pp. 39–40, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn did indeed seize the town. Ibn al-Athīr says it was taken easily without a fight. It is also listed among captured towns and castles in a letter from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to his brother, al-Malik al-‘Azīz Saif al-Islām ibn Ayyūb Ṭughtekīn, recorded by Abū Shāma, p. 303.

¹⁴⁰ Sidon surrendered on 29 July; Beirut surrendered on 6 August; Jubail was surrendered on 16 July in return for the release of its lord, Hugh III Embriaco, who had been captured at Ḥaṭṭīn: see *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVI (p. 178); *Lyon Eracles*, §45, pp. 57–8 (trans. Edbury, pp. 49–50); and *IP1*, p. 262.

atque eiectis habitatoribus et^a in captiuitate redactis,^b suis hominibus muniuit et concito gradu reuersus est. Residente igitur per aliquot dies Accaron exercitum suum qui dispersus fuerat per terram Galilee et Samarie precepit coadunare, quatinus fratri suo Sephidino qui erat in campestria Geraris circa Ascalonem adiuuaret. Profectique sunt de Accaron et cooperuerunt^c superficiem terre sicut locuste a mari magno usque Ierusalem, quia tanta erat multitudo Sarracenorum, quasi harena que est in littore^d maris quam nemo dinumerare potest.

^a om. AP ^b actis written over erasure A ^c cooperunt with additional -erunt
interlin. V ^d lictore P

thrown out the inhabitants and reduced them to captivity, he garrisoned [them] with his men and returned at a quick pace.¹⁴¹ Remaining then at Acre for several days, he ordered his army, which had been dispersed throughout the land of Galilee and Samaria, to unite, so that he might give help to his brother Saif al-Dīn, who was on the plains of Gerar around Ascalon. And they set out from Acre and covered the face of the earth like locusts, from the great sea as far as Jerusalem, because the multitude of Saracens was as great as the sand on the sea shore, which no man can count.

¹⁴¹ According to the Lyon *Eracles*, §45, p. 58 (trans. Edbury, pp. 49–50), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn went north and took Jabala, Latakia, and the castles of Sahyun (Saône), La Garde, Baghras, Darbsāk, and La Roche Guillaume. This is in fact a reference to the campaign of the following summer (1188), for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn retired to Ascalon after taking Beirut and Jubail: see Ibn Shaddād, p. 76; ‘Imād al-Dīn, pp. 39–44; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 329; and Abū Shāma, pp. 306–13.

XXI *De expugnatione Ascalonis*

Denique rex^a Egypti^b obsidionem ciuitati Ascalone posuit, erexitque machinas, et ceperunt acerrimo animo^c pugnare.^c At uero Ascalonite licet pauci, tamen prompti animo, fortitudine quoque murorum^d confisi, per .XV. dies uiriliter defendentes se^e defendebant. Considerans autem Saladinus^f animositatem christianorum, erexit decem balistas ad lapides iaciendos quatinus de longe et sine dampno suorum, murum^g ciuitatis die noctuque conquassaret, et ad terram precipitaret. Lapidabant igitur muros et turres ciuitatis sine cessatione, atque usque ad fundamenta^h precipitauerunt. Intereaⁱ misit rex Babilonis legatos ad templarios qui erant in castello Gazaris,ⁱ ubi quondam Sanson^j fortissimus ut de inimicis suis simul congregatis moriendo triumpharet, [fol. 13r] palatium Gazaris resumptis uiribus precipitans atque mole ipsius ruine oppressus cum ipsis hostibus uictor occubuit, dicens: 'Videte et diligenter considerate quid acturi sitis, atque de uita et salute uestra diligenti animo tractate, nam oculis uestris prospicitis^k quod deus tradidit terram in manibus meis. Tamen faciam uobiscum misericordiam quatinus sani et incolumes accepta uite uestre et uestrorum securitate, exeuntes relinquatis castellum.' At illi fiduciam in fortitudine Ascalonis^l habentes, responderunt: 'Tali exhibimus conditione, quali et Ascalonite.' Interim muri^m ciuitatis conquassati et iam pene usque ad fundamenta precipitati suntⁿ ita ut Sarraceni si uellent uel auderent per planum poterant ad christianos intrare. Timens igitur Saladinus ne mora sibi generaret diuorcium, cepit per regem quem

^a marked with double virgules, perhaps for trimmed marginal note saladinus C, saladinus rex A, saladini rex P ^b egypti A ^{c-c} pugnare animo V ^d corrected from (?) miorum C ^e om. V ^f saladinus with -n- expunctuated V ^g murorum P ^h fundamentum P ⁱ⁻ⁱ in different hand P ^j corrected from sansonem A ^k conspicitis V ^l hascalonis with h- expunctuated P ^m corrected from mura A ⁿ interlin. C

XXI *The capture of Ascalon*

Then the king of Egypt laid siege to the city of Ascalon, and he raised siege engines, and they began to fight with a most vehement spirit. But the Ascalonites, though few, were nevertheless resolute in mind; trusting also in the strength of the walls, they defended themselves courageously for fifteen days.¹⁴²

Perceiving the boldness of the Christians, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn set up ten ballistas to hurl stones, so that, from a distance and without loss of his [men], he might shake the wall of the city day and night and cast it down to the ground. And so they incessantly hurled rocks at the walls and towers of the city, and reduced them to their foundations. Meanwhile, the king of Babylon sent messengers to the Templars who were in the castle of **Gaza** (here, once, the extremely strong Samson, having recovered his strength, [cast] down the palace of Gaza so that, by dying, he might triumph over his enemies, gathered all together, and, crushed by the mass of the ruin itself, he fell dead as a victor, together with the enemies themselves),¹⁴³ saying:

‘See and consider carefully what you are about to do, and discuss your life and safety with careful thought; for you see with your eyes that God has given the land into my hands. Nevertheless, I shall have mercy on you such that you may abandon the castle and depart safe and sound, having received a guarantee of your life and that of your people.’

But having faith in the strength of Ascalon, [the Templars] responded: ‘We shall depart on the same terms as the Ascalonites.’

In the meantime, the walls of the city were shattered and now reduced almost to their foundations, so that the Saracens, if they wished or dared, were able to force a way to the Christians over the level ground. Then Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, afraid that a delay might result in a separation from him,¹⁴⁴ began

¹⁴² Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn reached Ascalon on 23 August; the siege began on 25 August; the city was surrendered on 5 September. See *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVI (pp. 184–5); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.li (pp. 58–9); Lyon *Eracles*, §49, p. 62 (trans. Edbury, pp. 54–5); Ambroise, ll. 2591–2610; *IP1*, p. 263; Ibn Shaddād, pp. 76–7; ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 44; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, pp. 329–30; Abū Shāma, pp. 312–16; and Ibn al-‘Adīm, p. 182; Lyons and Jackson, pp. 271–2.

¹⁴³ Judges 16:26–30.

¹⁴⁴ The precise meaning of the Latin phrase *divortium sibi* is somewhat obscure here. The word *divortium* typically means either a ‘by-road’, ‘devious route’, ‘out-of-the-way place’, or literally a ‘divorce’ in the marital sense. It can also have the figurative sense of a ‘separation’, or even a ‘partition (of territory)’: see Ronald E. Latham et al., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, vol. 1 [A–L] (Oxford, 1997), p. 709, s.v. ‘divortium’. In this instance, the author seems to be suggesting that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was anxious not to delay too long, for fear that his emirs might begin to abandon him unless he hurried on to conquer Jerusalem itself. Indeed, this fear is also reflected in Arabic sources at this juncture: see Lyons and Jackson, p. 271.

ibi tenebat in uinculis, et per fratrem regis et per alios, aures christianorum appellare, quatinus conditione facta, illi qui auxilium uel adiutorium aliorum christianorum terra^a marique^b minime poterant habere, relicta ciuitate cum omnibus^c suis in pace abscederent.^d Congregati sunt ergo Ascalonite consilium sue salutis et aliorum qui erant in uinculis inuicem tractantes, perpendentesque ciuitatem suis uiribus non posse defendere, tale dedere consilium: 'Nos quidem fortitudinem et potentiam tuam deo permitte in terra scimus esse permaximam, nobis uero christianis morte uel tribulatione pro Christi nomine occupatis aditum regni celestis aperire. Tamen placet^e infirmis^e adhuc in fide et aliis non paucis quorum compassioni propter fraterne dilectionis amorem conpati oportet, ita dexteram^f federationis a uobis accipere, quatinus regem, et episcopum sancti Georgii, et fratrem regis, .XII. quoque de melioribus captiuis, quos catene tue ferocitatis sub dira custodia tenent, nobis solutos restituas.^g Nobis uero .XL. dies in quibus nostra uendere et prouidere indulgeas, atque centum familias quibus sub tua defensione in ciuitate placet remanere, ad tempus dimittas,^h ceterosqueⁱ cum suis omnibus saluos usque Tripolim deducere facias.' Placuit ergo sermo iste in oculis Saladini, atque petitioni^j Ascalonitarum^k libenter iussit annuere. Anno M. C. LXXX. VII. mense Septembri .IIII.^l die mensis feria [fol. 13v] .VI.^m hora nona, obscuratus est sol atque sub ipsa obscuritate exeuntes maiores natu Ascalonitarum, ueneruntque in castra Egiptiorum, atque ibi coram Sarracenisⁿ super hanc conuentionem christiani et principes Damascenorum^o sacramentum stabilitatis huius rei fecerunt. Mane autem facto, tradiderunt Ascalonite clauis ciuitatis^p Sarracenis, atque in^q introitu portarum residentibus Turcis, ordinauit Saladinus sicut placuit illi de ciuitate. Et quoniam ciuitas ista quasi munimen et firmamentum erat terre Ierusalem, audita fama captionis

^a second -r- interlin. in different hand A ^b mari V ^c hominibus AP, om. V ^d -bsce- written over erasure in different hand A ^{e-e} infirmis placet V ^f dextram A ^g restitutas P ^h dimitas CA ⁱ -s- interlin. in different hand A ^j -ci- interlin. in different hand A ^k ascalonitarum P ^l iiii P ^m .vi. C, corrected from v A, v^a P ⁿ sarracis C, corrected from sarracis A ^o corrected from damascenorum V ^p -ta- interlin. C ^q om. P

to appeal to the ears of the Christians through the king, whom he held there in chains, and through the brother of the king and others, so that, when an agreement had been reached, those who were least able to secure the help or assistance of other Christians by land or sea might depart in peace with all their people, having abandoned the city.

The Ascalonites therefore came together, discussing among themselves a plan for their own deliverance and that of the others who were in chains. Considering that they were unable to defend the city with their strength, they offered this counsel:

‘Truly, we know that your strength and power are extremely great in the land, with God’s permission; but it is for us Christians, seized by death or tribulation for Christ’s name, to open a way to the kingdom of heaven. Nevertheless, it seems good to those still weak in faith, and to several others whom it is right to pity because of the affection of brotherly love, to accept an agreement from you such that you release and return to us the king, the bishop of St George,¹⁴⁵ and the king’s brother, as well as twelve of the better captives whom the chains of your savagery hold in dreadful captivity. But allow us forty days in which to sell and make provision for our things, and at [the appointed] time release a hundred families whom it pleases to remain in the city under your protection, and have the others conducted safely to Tripoli with all of their own.’¹⁴⁶

This talk was pleasing in the eyes of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and he willingly ordered [his men] to assent to the Ascalonites’ request.

In the year 1187, in the month of September, on the fourth day of the month, the sixth day of the week, at the ninth hour, the sun was obscured,¹⁴⁷ and going out under that very darkness, the elders of the Ascalonites came into the encampment of the Egyptians and there, before the Saracens, the Christians and the lords of the Damascenes made a firm oath on this matter. When morning had come,¹⁴⁸ the Ascalonites handed over the keys of the city to the Saracens, and, with the Turks staying at the entrance of the gates, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn made arrangements for the city as it pleased him. And since that city was, as it were, the bulwark and mainstay of the

¹⁴⁵ St George was Lydda. The bishop referred to here is Bernard.

¹⁴⁶ No other source is known to mention this requested period of forty days. According to *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVI (pp. 184–5), Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.li (pp. 78–9), Lyon *Eracles*, §49, p. 62 (trans. Edbury, pp. 54–5), Ambroise, ll. 2597–2610, and *IP1*, p. 263, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had Guy de Lusignan brought from Damascus, and it was he who persuaded the Ascalonites to surrender in return for his freedom. The people of Ascalon indeed surrendered under terms: according to Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, pp. 329–30, they were sent to Jerusalem. *Ernoul-Bernard* (c. XIX, pp. 231–2) specifies that the Ascalonites were taken to Alexandria.

¹⁴⁷ On the eclipse, see Introduction, pp. 29–30.

¹⁴⁸ That is, on 5 September 1187.

Ascalonis, Ierosolimite tam munite ciuitatis, elanguit omnis uirtus eorum, atque lamentabili dolore, uiribusque destituti lamentabantur, sciens quod sicut^a fecerat Ascaloni, faceret uel peius et Ierusalem. Collectis denique Saladinus in unum uiribus, ordinata ciuitate, precepit ducibus et amirabilibus^b suis ordinare exercitum, atque cum fortitudine et magni terroris impetu montana Ierusalem ascendere. Motus est ergo exercitus, atque per camp-estria profectus usque^c Besigebelim, id est Bersabe,^d puteus scilicet .VII. propter .VII. agnas ab Abraham ibi immolatas sic appellatus, uel puteus iuramenti eo quod Abraham et Abimelec rex Geraris^e ibi inierunt fedus iurationis. Figuraturque^f in hoc fedus quod inierunt fideles supra fontem .VII. id est baptismi, qui in uirtute septiformis spiritus sancti coniuratur, benedicitur, et consecratur. Misit autem Saladinus nuntios ad hospitalarios^g qui^h erant inⁱ munitione,^j ut se ipsos et castellum uoluntati eius traderent, atque cum ceteris transmigratis in pace migrarent. At illi respondentes dixerunt: ‘Talem sortem expectamus, qualem et Ierusalem.’

^a semper sicut with semper expunctuated A ^b amirabilibus P ^c with ad (crossed out) A, usque ad P ^d bersabee AP ^e gerararis with second -ra- expunctuated A ^f figuratur quorum P ^g corrected from hospitaes C ^h written over erasure V ⁱ -que interlin. and subsequently erased, s<cilicet> interlin. before in A, s<cilicet> in P ^j in margin bellehem C, in margin scilicet bethleem V, bethlem munitione A, bethleem municione P

land of Jerusalem, when the news of the capture of Ascalon, such a [well-] defended city, was heard, all the courage of the Jerusalemites grew faint, and they lamented with mournful grief and with their strength sapped, knowing that [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] would do to Jerusalem just as he had done to Ascalon—or worse.

When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had brought his forces together as one and set the city in order, he ordered his commanders and emirs to draw up the army and ascend the mountains of Jerusalem with strength and an assault of great terror.¹⁴⁹ The army was accordingly set in motion, and it set out across the plains as far as **Bait Jibrīn**, that is Beer'-Sheba, namely the well called 'the seventh' on account of the seven lambs sacrificed there by Abraham; or the 'well of the oath', for the reason that Abraham and Abimelech, king of **Gerar**, entered into a covenant of an oath there. And in this is configured that seventh covenant which the faithful have entered into above the font (that is, of baptism), which is sworn, blessed, and consecrated by the virtue of the sevenfold Holy Spirit.¹⁵⁰ And Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sent messengers to the Hospitallers who were defending [Bait Jibrīn],¹⁵¹ [saying] that they should hand over themselves and the castle to his will and depart in peace along with the other captives. But they replied: 'We await the same fate as that of Jerusalem.'

¹⁴⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 330 says that, after the surrender of Ascalon, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sent troops to occupy Ramla, Daron, Gaza, Hebron, Ibelin, Bethlehem, Bait Jibrīn, and Latrun. Abū Shāma, pp. 313–14, following 'Imād al-Dīn, says that, during the attack on Ascalon and afterwards, the Muslims occupied Ramla, Ibelin, Bethlehem, Hebron, Gaza, Latrun, Bait Jibrīn, Daron, and Lydda (he includes Tibnīn in the north). See also Ibn al-'Adīm, pp. 182–3.

¹⁵⁰ Compare Bede, *In Samuelem prophetam allegorica expositio*, in *PL*, vol. 91, col. 523A–B: 'But *Bersabee*—which is translated as "well of the oath", or "seventh well", or "well of satiety"—designates the full receiving of baptism, since each person enters the font of regeneration of the [Holy] Spirit of sevenfold grace to be consecrated and sated by the bounty of heavenly gifts after the devil has been exorcized, renounced, and expelled from his heart.'

¹⁵¹ A marginal hand in MS. C has erroneously supplied *bellehem* here (a similar annotation in V reads: *s[cilicet] bethleem*). There was no Hospitaller garrison at Bethlehem, and the passage instead continues the discussion of Bait Jibrīn, which had had a Hospitaller castle since at least the 1130s. Bethlehem appears in the subsequent chapter. This reveals that this particular annotator was poorly informed in regard to the geography of the Holy Land, which is understandable given that he was almost certainly from Coggeshall. On **Bait Jibrīn**, see the Gazetteer.

XXII *De destructione Bethleem, et de obsidione Ierusalem*

Arripientes demum iter suum filii Babilonis per montana usque Ierusalem, nomen Christi et crucem nostre redemptionis inter se polluto ore garriendo blasphemantes.^a Denique ista sunt loca^b sancta territorii^c sancte ciuitatis Ierusalem, que a prophanis desolata atque destructa sunt. Belleem^d scilicet ciuitas Daud, nobile triclinium,^e ubi mater gloriosa, uirgo^f in partu, uirgo post partum sine dolore et corruptione suum et omnium creatorem filium dei operante spiritu sancto, exultantibus angelis cum gaudio genuit, atque pannis [fol. 14r] inuolutum in illud presepe, sedem scilicet dei secundam post celum, pabulum uite boui et asino, scilicet iudeo et gentili, castis manibus uirgo porrigendo collocauit. Alii quidem ad montem sanctum Sylo properantes, ubi quondam filii Israel illud mirabile tabernaculum cum utensilibus suis tetenderunt. In quo loco sanctus Samuel mitissimus et sanctissimus omnium prophetarum, deo de celo clamante,^g ‘Samuel, Samuel,’ ore innocente et mundo ab omni labe contagionis respondit: ‘Loquere,^h domine, quia audit seruus tuus,’^h

^a blasphemantes *AP* ^b corrected from *locae A* ^c *territori P* ^d *Bethleem P*
^e *triclinium CAV* ^f *written over erasure P* ^g *lclamante V* ^{h-h} *om. V*

**XXII *About the destruction of Bethlehem and the
siege of Jerusalem***¹⁵²

At length, the sons of Babylon took the road through the mountains as far as Jerusalem, blaspheming the name of Christ and the Cross of our redemption and jabbering among themselves with defiled speech.

These, then, are the holy places of the territory of the holy city of Jerusalem that were laid waste and ruined by the unholy ones: namely Bethlehem, the city of David, the noble couch,¹⁵³ where the glorious mother—a virgin in giving birth, a virgin after giving birth¹⁵⁴—gave birth without both pain and corruption to the Creator of herself and of all, the Son of God, with the Holy Spirit at work and the angels exulting with joy; and reaching out with chaste hands, the Virgin laid him, wrapped in swaddling clothes, in that manger (that is, the second abode of God after heaven),¹⁵⁵ the fodder of life for the ox and the ass (that is, for the Jew and the Gentile).¹⁵⁶

Others hasten[ed] to the holy **Mount Shiloh**, where the sons of Israel once set up that marvellous tabernacle with its furniture.¹⁵⁷ In this place, with God calling ‘Samuel, Samuel’ from heaven, the holy Samuel, mildest and holiest of all the prophets, replied with an innocent mouth free from all stain of contagion: ‘Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth.’¹⁵⁸ Now a monastery of

¹⁵² The position of this rubric varies from manuscript to manuscript. Its placement here is an editorial decision.

¹⁵³ The author probably took this phrase from the sequence *Salve mater salvatoris*, attributed to Adam of Saint-Victor. See Peter G. Walsh and Christopher Husch (eds and trans.), *One Hundred Latin Hymns: Ambrose to Aquinas*, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* 18 (Cambridge, MA, 2012), pp. 318–25 (here, p. 322): ‘Hail, mother of piety, and noble couch of the whole Trinity.’ (*Salve, mater pietatis, / et totius Trinitatis, / nobile triclinium*.) The phrase did, however, appear earlier in the *Libellus de corona virginis* attributed spuriously to Ildefonsus of Toledo: in *PL*, vol. 96, col. 295D. The idea of Mary as a *triclinium* (‘couch’, ‘eating-couch’, ‘dining-room’) for the Trinity is difficult to translate precisely; the sense seems to be that she serves as a kind of fulcrum or central point of dwelling where the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit can come together and be at rest.

¹⁵⁴ The idea that Mary was ‘a virgin before birth, a virgin in birth, and a virgin after birth’ was a time-honoured axiom in Mariological thought: see, for example, Augustine, *Sermo XIX. De vigilia nativitatis Christi*, in *PL*, vol. 40, col. 1266.

¹⁵⁵ Luke 2:12–13.

¹⁵⁶ Isaiah 1:3: ‘The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master’s crib, but Israel hath not known me, and my people hath not understood.’ On the ox as symbolising the Jews and the ass symbolising the Gentiles in this passage, see, for example, Haymo of Halberstadt, *Commentariorum in Isaiam libri tres*, in *PL*, vol. 116, col. 718C–719B.

¹⁵⁷ Joshua 18:1: ‘And all the children of Israel assembled together in Shiloh, and there they set up the Tabernacle...’ The design and construction of the tabernacle are described in Exodus 25–40. Prutz, p. xxxv argued that the following passage was interpolated, on which see Introduction, p. 18.

¹⁵⁸ 1 Kings 3:10.

vbi nunc constructum est cenobium canonicorum Premonstratensium^a in honore sancti Samuelis, cuius preces cum precibus Moysi, et Aaron apud deum fuse, nostrorum ueniam impetrent peccatorum.^b De hac quidem destructione propheta Dauid gemens in Psalmo aiebat:^c ‘Reppulit dominus tabernaculum Sylo,’ et cetera. Hic est denique uerax propheta, cuius uerba non ceciderunt in terra, quia quicquid prophetabat,^d rebus gestis demonstrabatur. Hic quoque filios^e Israel iudicauit^e in Masphat. Et ut sciamus quali iudicio eos iudicasset, tradunt Hebrei quod aqua erat in Masphat, in qua coram domino maledicta congesta^f sunt, ita scilicet ut quicumque idolatra^g hausisset et coram domino et propheta Samuele gustasset, labia eius ita sibi adhererent,^h utⁱ nequaquam ea ab inuicem separare posset. Sic quoque ydolatra^j comprehensus ab omni populo iussu prophete secundum legem lapidatus est, ne alii exemplo illius seducti, pro deo idola^k uana coluissent.^l Alii uero Bethaniam que domus obedientie interpretatur destruentes, ubi dominus Lazarum quadriduanum^m mortuum precibus Marie et Marthe sororum eius humiliter deprecatus fremensque in se ipso,

^a premonstracensium *V*, premonstratencium *P* ^b *interlin. in different hand A*
^c agebat *VP* ^d followed by illegible word (struck through) *V* ^{e-e} iudicauit filios israel *V* ^f coniesta followed by erasure *A* ^g ydolatra *V* ^h second -re- *interlin. in different hand A* ⁱ et ut (with ut *interlin. in different hand A*), et ut *P* ^j idolatra *V*
^k ydola *VP* ^l preceded by co (expunctuated) *C* ^m corrected from quadridieanum *A*

Premonstratensian canons has been built there in honour of St Samuel—may its prayers, poured out together with the prayers of Moses and Aaron, obtain forgiveness of our sins from God.¹⁵⁹ Bemoaning this destruction, the prophet David declared in the Psalm: ‘The Lord has rejected the tabernacle of Shiloh’, et cetera.¹⁶⁰ He [Samuel] is indeed a true prophet, whose words did not fall to the ground, because whatever he prophesied was proven by events.¹⁶¹ He also judged the sons of Israel in Mizpah.¹⁶² So that we may know by what judgement he judged them, the Hebrews relate that there was water in Mizpah in which curses were heaped up before the Lord, that is, in such a way that, if any idolater had drawn [the water] and tasted it before the Lord and the prophet Samuel, his lips would stick together in such a way that he could not pull them apart at all. Thus the idolater was also seized and stoned by all the people by the order of the prophet according to the law, lest others, having been led astray by his example, should worship vain idols instead of God.¹⁶³

Others raz[ed] **Bethany**, which is translated as ‘house of obedience’,¹⁶⁴ where the Lord, humbly entreated by the prayers of [Lazarus] sisters Mary and Martha, and groaning within himself [and] lamenting our mortality and wretchedness, called forth Lazarus from the tomb with a loud voice [after he had been] dead for

¹⁵⁹ On this monastery, see Introduction, pp. 44–8.

¹⁶⁰ Psalm 77:60. The Ark of the Covenant was taken from Shiloh to the Israelite army by Hofni and Phineas and then lost to the Philistines in battle. After this, Shiloh fell into insignificance and was ruined by God: see Jeremiah 7:12. The author is implicitly linking the loss of the monastery to the loss of the tabernacle of Shiloh. On Hofni and Phineas, see also Introduction, pp. 20–1.

¹⁶¹ 1 Kings 3:19: ‘And Samuel grew, and the Lord was with him, and not one of his words fell to the ground.’ Here the author of the *Libellus* also drew on the section of Pseudo-Jerome’s ninth-century *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Libros Regum* that deals with the Book of Samuel (1 Kings). See Avrom Saltman (ed.), *Quaestiones on the Book of Samuel* (Leiden, 1975), p. 76 (n° 24): ‘Of all his words, [none] is said to have fallen to the ground, because whatever he prophesied was proven by deeds.’ (*Non cecidisse ex omnibus verbis ejus in terram dicitur, quia quicquid prophetabat rebus gestis demonstrabatur.*)

¹⁶² 1 Kings 7:5–6.

¹⁶³ This detailed and rather esoteric allusion derives from Pseudo-Jerome’s *Quaestiones on the Book of Samuel*, p. 79 (n° 30). On the connection with Numbers 5:11–31, which outlines a ritual whereby women accused of adultery are made to drink bitter water heaped with curses in order to test their guilt, see Saltman’s notes on the *quaestio*. Although Pseudo-Jerome makes no explicit mention of stoning, he does refer to how Moses crushed the golden calf, sprinkled it in water, and gave this to the idolatrous Israelites to drink (Exodus 32:20). On a related note, in Leviticus 20:2, God issues a command to Moses that anybody who worshipped the idol Moloch should be stoned to death.

¹⁶⁴ Jerome, *Liber interpretationis*, p. 135: *Bethania domus afflictionis eius vel domus oboedientiae.*

mortalitatem nostram et miseriam deplorans, magna uoce uocauit de monumento,^a vbi dominus Phariseo^b ad conuiuium inuitatus a Maria, pistici^c nardi^c unguento, osculando pedes et^d lacrimis rigando, humiliter est perunctus. In quo castello alias describitur dominum intrasse, atque Martham circa multa in ministrando^e occupatam, eum in domo suscepisse, Mariam uero sororem eius ad pedes domini uerba oris eius audiendo sedisse, atque unum quod necessarium est domino attestante elegisse. Alii quidem montem [fol. 14v] sanctissimum Oliueti^f deuastantes, ubi^g dominus sicut in euuangelio legitur sepe orare, opera misericordie docere, sedereque cum discipulis suis consueuit. In quo fabricata^h est ecclesia, ubi dominus noster Iesus Christus .XL. die resurrectionisⁱ sue uidentibus apostolis assumptus est in celum. In cuius medio opus mire rotunditatis^j et decoris erectum^k est, ubi steterunt pedes domini. Quem locum fideles christiani uestigio^l saluatoris pressum recognoscentes, cum magna ueneratione deosculantur. Inter hec autem ecclesiam assumptionis beate Marie uirginis Iosaphat prophani prophana^m manibus contaminauerunt, atque locum gloriosum^m omnibus christianis debita laude uenerandum sepulture glorioseⁿ uirginis et matris Christi multis spurciciis fedantes destruxerunt. Supra cuius sepulcrum constructum erat opus quadratum auro, argento, et celaturis, uti decebat,^o mira pulcritudinis uarietate decoratum. Hic est ille locus qui uocatur Gessemani trans torrentem Cedron ubi erat ortus, in quem introiuit Iesus cum discipulis suis, cena noui sacramenti iam celebrata. Ibi^p uero discipulis suis orare ne inciderent in temptationem^q ammonuit. In quo loco constructa est ecclesia in nomine saluatoris eo quod saluator et redemptor mundi pro salute generis humani deum patrem ibi supplicauit.

^a -men- interlin. in different hand A ^b a symone leproso written over erasure V
^{c-c} marked for transposition with double virgules C, nardi pistici V ^d om. V
^e corrected imperfectly from ministrantem V ^f corrected from oleueti V
^g vbi A, Vbi P ^h frabricata C ⁱ resurrectionis A ^j -ti- interlin. in different hand A
^k corrected from eaectum V ^l uestigia AP, -io interlin. V ^m followed by uirginis (expunctuated) A
ⁿ glo- partially erased or abraded V ^o decebant P
^p Ipsi AP ^q -ta- interlin. in different hand A

four days.¹⁶⁵ Here, invited to supper by a Pharisee [Simon the Leper], the Lord was humbly anointed with ointment of pure spikenard by Mary, kissing his feet and washing them with tears.¹⁶⁶ It is written elsewhere that the Lord entered that town, and Martha, who was very busy with serving, received him in her house, but Mary her sister sat at the Lord's feet, hearing the words of his mouth, and chose the one thing that was necessary, as the Lord attested.¹⁶⁷

Others [laid] waste the most holy Mount of Olives, where, as it is read in the Gospel, the Lord was accustomed to pray, teach works of mercy, and sit with his disciples. In this place there has been built a church [on the site] where our Lord Jesus Christ was taken up into heaven on the fortieth day of his resurrection, with the apostles looking on. In the middle of [this church] a work of wonderful roundness and beauty has been erected where the feet of the Lord stood. Faithful Christians kiss this place warmly with great veneration, recognising that it has been pressed with the Saviour's footprint.¹⁶⁸

Meanwhile, the profane ones polluted the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Josaphat with profane hands, and defiling it with much filth, destroyed the glorious place of the burial of the glorious Virgin and mother of Christ, [a place which is] to be venerated by all Christians with due praise. Above her tomb a square work had been constructed, decorated with gold, silver and engravings, as was proper, in wondrously varied beauty.¹⁶⁹ This is that place that is called Gethsemane, across the Kedron River, where was the garden into which Jesus entered with his disciples after they had just celebrated the supper of the new sacrament. There he admonished his disciples to pray that they fall not into temptation. In this place a church has been built in the name of the Saviour, because the Saviour and Redeemer of the world prayed there to God the Father for the salvation of humankind.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ John 11:1–44.

¹⁶⁶ This appears to be a conflation of the separate stories of Christ's anointing at different suppers described in Matthew 26:6–13, Mark 14:3–9, Luke 7:36–50 and John 12:1–8. Simon the Leper appears only in Matthew and Mark; Simon the Pharisee is mentioned only in Luke, which is also the sole Gospel account to describe the woman washing Christ's feet with her tears. Only John says explicitly that Mary used an ointment made from spikenard.

¹⁶⁷ Luke 10:38–42. On the idea of Mary and Martha in the Middle Ages, see Giles Constable, 'The Interpretation of Mary and Martha', in Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1–143.

¹⁶⁸ Acts 1:9–11; see also Mark 16:19 and Luke 24:51. The aedicule of the Church of the Ascension was served by Augustinian canons in the twelfth century and contained the rock believed to preserve an imprint of Christ's right foot. See Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 3, pp. 72–88, and especially pp. 81–2.

¹⁶⁹ See Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 3, pp. 287–306 (n° 337). Twelfth-century pilgrims to Mary's tomb also remarked on its beauty in some detail: see, for example, Saewulf, ll. 344–8 and Theoderic, ll. 829–85.

¹⁷⁰ Matthew 26:28–44. On the Church of St Saviour in Gethsemane, see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 3, pp. 358–65 (n° 357).

XXIII *De ineffabili angustia Ierosolimitanorum*

Vicesima igitur die mensis Septembris sancta ciuitas Ierusalem obsessa^a est, atque undique ab incredulis cum magno clangore tubarum terrore armorum, strepitu et ululatu uociferantium ‘Hai,^b hai^b’ undique uexillis uentilantibus circumdata. Commota est ergo ciuitas^c a fremitu et tumultu barbarorum, atque per horarum momenta conclamabant: ‘Vera crux sancta, et sepulcrum^d resurrectionis^e Iesu Christi, protege ciuitatem Ierusalem cum habitatoribus suis!’ Commissum est ergo bellum, et ceperunt ex^f utraque^f parte audacter pugnare. Et quoniam dolore et merore tante miserie confecti, omnes congressus et concursus Turcorum quibus christianos per .XV. dies fatigabant nequimus numerare,^g sicut cetera que gesta sunt, que tedium absque utilitate scribenti et audienti generant, omittamus. Quis uero pro tam magni doloris pietate omnibus pretermisissis non erumpat in fletibus, cum monachos hinc et [fol. 15r] canonicos,^h sacerdotes et leuitas, heremitas et anachoritasⁱ senio affectos, pro sanctis sanctorum et hereditate crucifixi armatos incedere armaque uideret gestare, illinc uiduas, orphanos, puerosque brachiis ad dominum extensis per ecclesias et plateas cateruatim et squalenti uultu incedere oreque innocenti lacrimabiliter conclamare, diuinamque^e clementiam sanctorumque patrocinia incessanter implorare?^j Que lingua autem ualet narrare quanti^k Sarraceni lanceis et sagittis perforati uitalem flatum amiserunt et mortem^l perpetuam inuenerunt? Quis uero potest^m dicere qualiter ille nepos Saladini, fastu superbie deceptus, sericis uestibus nobiliter usque ad ungulam equi indutus, atque speculis mulierum auro insertus,ⁿ pre nimia^o animi sui superbia faleratus, a quodam seruiente^p ante portam sancti Stephani percussus, miserabili morte interiit interfectus? Vel quis^q potest narrare quanti christiani telis aduersariorum uulnerati temporalem uitam pro christo amittentes,^r uitam^s meruerunt eternam? In illis itaque diebus in quibus deus uidebatur regere ciuitatem, quis ualet dicere qualiter ille percussus obiit, ille uulneratus euasit? Cadebant autem sagitte sicut stille pluuiarum,^t ita ut nemo digitum ad propugnacula^u sine lesione poterat ostendere. Erat^v uero^w tanta multitudo

^a obsessa C, obcessa P ^{b-b} hay hay AP ^c omnis ciuitas AP ^d sepulchrum VP ^e resurrectionis CA, resurreccionis [sic] (with second -c- interlin.) V, resurreccionis P ^{f-f} corrected from extraque A ^g marginal note replacing numere (crossed out) C, munerare A, partially erased and perhaps altered from munerare P ^h canonicos P ⁱ anacoritas AP ^{j-j} in different hand C ^k quantis P ^l corrected from pertem C, per mortem (with per interlin. in different hand) A, per mortem P ^m seemingly abbreviated P ⁿ incertus P ^o nimiamini with amini expunctuated A ^p corrected from seruitute in different hand A ^q -s interlin. in red ink over erasure A ^r punctus or insertion mark of some kind in different hand C ^s repeated, with second instance crossed out A ^t pluuiarum P ^u propugnacula C ^v corrected from erad A ^w enim P

XXIII *About the unspeakable anguish of the Jerusalemites*

On the twentieth day of the month of September,¹⁷¹ the Holy City of Jerusalem was besieged, and surrounded on all sides by the infidels with a great clangour of trumpets [and] terrible power of arms, by the noise and howling of those calling ‘*Hai, hai!*’, and by the waving of banners.¹⁷² And so the city was shaken by the noise and uproar of the barbarians, and for hours [the people of Jerusalem] cried out: ‘Oh, holy True Cross and Sepulchre of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, protect the city of Jerusalem together with its inhabitants!’

Battle was then engaged, and they began to fight bravely on both sides. Since, overcome by the grief and sorrow of such wretchedness, we cannot count all the charges and attacks of the Turks by which they harassed the Christians for fifteen days, just like the other things that were done which induce weariness without benefit in both writer and listener, let us say nothing of them. [Despite] having omitted all [this], who would not burst into tears out of pity for such great grief when he saw over here monks and canons, priests and deacons, hermits and anchorites weakened by old age, marching in armour and carrying weapons for the holy of holies and the inheritance of the Crucified One;¹⁷³ and over there widows, orphans, and children proceeding through the churches and streets in groups and with squalid faces, arms held out to the Lord and crying out tearfully with innocent voices, ceaselessly imploring divine clemency and the protection of the saints? What tongue has the power to tell how many Saracens, pierced by spears and arrows, lost the breath of life and found everlasting death? Who is able to say how that nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, deceived by the arrogance of pride, clad finely down to the hooves of his horse in accoutrements of silk, and set with gold in women’s mirrors, adorned because of the excessive pride of his mind, died a miserable death [when he was] struck down and killed by a certain sergeant in front of the gate of St Stephen?¹⁷⁴ Or who is able to tell how many Christians, wounded by the adversaries’ missiles, losing their temporal life for Christ, earned eternal life?

Who, then, has the power to say how, in those days, when God seemed to rule the city, one man was struck and died, while another was wounded and escaped? The arrows fell like drops of rain so that no one was able to expose a finger above the ramparts without harm.¹⁷⁵ In fact, there was such

¹⁷¹ The *Libellus* coheres with the Muslim sources on this date. See Introduction, p. 33.

¹⁷² Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 22 repeats much of this sentence verbatim. See Appendix 1.

¹⁷³ See also *IP1*, p. 264; *IP2*, trans. Nicholson, p. 38.

¹⁷⁴ On the probable identity of this person, see Introduction, pp. 34.

¹⁷⁵ See also *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVIII (p. 214); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.lvi (p. 84); Lyon *Eracles*, §51, p. 65 (trans. Edbury, pp. 56–7).

uulneratorum, ut uix omnes medici ciuitatis uel hospitalis tela corporibus infixi ualebant extrahere. Nam et facies hec referentis, sagitta per medium nasum infixi uulnerata est, atque extracto ligno^a ferrum usque hodie^b permansit. Certabant autem Ierosolimita per unam ebdomadam satis uiriliter, sedente^c exercitu contra turrem Dauid.

Videns denique Saladinus quod nihil proficeret nec sic quidem posse dampnare ciuitatem, cepit cum suis circuire et infirma ciuitatis perscrutare, querendo locum ubi machinas suas sine timore christianorum posset erigere, et ciuitatem leuius obpugnare.^d Et quoniam filius illius erat qui in execrabili mentis sue superbia solium suum in latere^e aquilonis disponebat ponere, ut non sub deo sed^f contra deum regnaret, et sic quoque similis esset altissimo, angulum ciuitatis uersus aquilonem infirmum, et aptum ad sua [fol. 15v] scelera perficienda inuenit. Quadam autem die aurora apparente, iussit rex^g Egipti sine strepitu et tumultu mouere castra, atque in ualle Iosaphat,^h etⁱ per montem^j Oliueti, et per montem Gaudii, et per omnia montana ex illa parte figere tentoria. Mane autem facto, uiri Ierusalem leuantes oculos et uidentes recedente^k nebularum caligine quod Sarraceni^l leuabant tentoria tamquam^m incipientes

^a seemingly corrected from lignu A ^b interlin. in different hand A
^c cedente P ^d oppugnare V ^e la- add. in mg. in different hand A ^f corrected
 (? from se) in different hand A ^g <id est> Saladinus add. in mg. in different hand C, id
 est saladinus add. in mg. in different hand V, carried into text AP ^h corrected from iasa-
 phat A ⁱ om. P ^j -n- erased, replaced with abbreviation over -o- A ^k preceded
 by recedentes (crossed out) A ^l sarraceceni AP, with initial -ce- expunctuated P
^m tanquam AP

a great number of wounded that all the doctors of the city or the Hospital were scarcely able to extract the missiles stuck in their bodies. For the face of the one reporting these things was also wounded by an arrow through the middle of the nose, and although the wood was pulled out, the iron has remained to this day.¹⁷⁶ But the Jerusalemites fought courageously enough for a week, the [Muslim] army remaining in front of the Tower of David.¹⁷⁷

Seeing at length that he was accomplishing nothing and that he could not even damage the city in this way, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn began to go around with his men and examine the city's weak spots, searching for a place where he could erect his engines without fear of the Christians and attack the city more easily. And since he was the son of the one who in the accursed pride of his mind arranged to set up his throne on the north side so that he might reign not beneath God, but against God, and thus also be like to the most High, [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] found the corner of the city towards the north weak and suitable for carrying out his wicked deeds.¹⁷⁸

On a certain day, at the break of dawn, the king of Egypt ordered the camp to move without noise or disturbance and to pitch the tents in the valley of Josaphat and across the Mount of Olives and Montjoie and all the mountains on that side.¹⁷⁹ When morning had come, the men of Jerusalem, raising their eyes and seeing, while the gloom of the mists was receding, that the Saracens were raising their tents as though beginning to

¹⁷⁶ On 'the one reporting these things', see Introduction, pp. 11–12.

¹⁷⁷ The citadel and royal palace of the city, halfway along the western wall at the end of Jaffa Road. According to the Old French accounts, it was eight days, that is a week in medieval terms (counting inclusively), before Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn moved the focus of his attack: see *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVIII (pp. 211–13); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.lv (p. 82); Lyon *Eracles*, §50, p. 64 (trans. Edbury, pp. 55–6).

¹⁷⁸ Isaiah 14:13–14. The reference is to the arrogance of Lucifer, who is said to have planned to raise his throne up above the clouds and stars on the north side of the mountain of the covenant, in order to resemble and ultimately surpass God. The barbican was located on the north-east corner of the city.

¹⁷⁹ Following Kedar's identification of the twelfth-century Montjoie of Jerusalem as Mount Skopus (Mashārif), around 2.5km north-northeast of the Old City, the passage above refers to the north-east and east of Jerusalem. *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVIII (pp. 211–13), Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.lv (pp. 82–3), and Lyon *Eracles*, §50, pp. 63–4 (trans. Edbury, pp. 55–6) say that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn initially camped from David's Gate to St Stephen's Gate, that is, from Jaffa Gate, where the Tower of David was located, halfway up the western wall, to Stephen's Gate, halfway along the north-western wall. This is confirmed by Ibn Shaddād, p. 77 and Ibn al-Adīm, p. 183, who say that he initially took up a position on the western side before moving to the north-east on 25 September. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 331 does not say where he first camped, but confirms that after five days he settled on an attack on the sector running from Damascus Gate (St Stephen's Gate) to the north-east. See also 'Imād al-Dīn, pp. 44–9 and Abū Shāma, p. 326.

abire, gauisi sunt gaudio magno et dicebant: ‘Fugit^a quidem^b rex Sirie, eo quod non potest sicut cogitauerat destruere ciuitatem.’ Sed^e hec leticia citius in luctum et lamentationem conuersa est, cognita rei ueritate. Nam tyrannus iussit^d ibidem statim^e construere machinas^e et erigere balistas, ramos oliuarum et aliarum arborum simul contrahere, et inter ciuitatem et machinas fortiter collocare^f atque in ipso^g crepusculo iussit exercitum arma arripere,^h ruptores murorum cum ferramentis precedere, quatinus antequam christiani operam darent de hoc, usque ad fundamentaⁱ murorum omnes essent parati. Constituit autem crudelissimus tyrannus^j usque ad^k .X. M. equites armatos in equis cum lanceis et arcubus, ut si uiri ciuitatis uellent exire, obstarent eis.^l Alia uero .X. .M. uel eo amplius bene armatos usque ad talum^m constituit sub scutis et tarcis cum arcubus ad sagittandum. Ceteros quoque cum se ipso et cum ducibus circa machinas retinuit. Sic itaque ordinati,ⁿ summo mane ceperunt rumpere turrem angularem, et muros per circuitum incidere, sagittarii sagittare, illi qui circa machinas uehementer lapidare. At uero uiri ciuitatis nichil tale estimantes, ciuitatem et muros sine custodia dimittentes, fatigati et tedio affecti, dormierunt usque^o mane, quia nisi dominus custodierit ciuitatem frustra uigilat^p qui custodit^p eam.

Orto denique iam sole, illi qui in turribus dormierant strepitu barbarorum expergefacti, uidentes hec, pre timore exterriti et exstupefacti^q uelud^r amentes conclamabant per ciuitatem: ‘Viri Ierosolimite accurrite,^s succurrite, adiuuate, iam iamque muris perforatis alieni intrans. Commoti autem per ciuitatem accurrerunt^t fortitudine qua poterant, nec ualuerunt ultra damascenos^u neque telis neque lanceis necque sa [fol. 16r] gittis, neque lapidibus ne here^v et plumbo liquefactis a muris^w amouere. Lapidabant uero Turci sine cessatione uehementer ad propugnacula, et inter murum et ante murale iaciendo^x lapides et ignem quem grecum uocant, ligna et lapides et quicquid^y attigerit consumantem.^y Sagittarii autem sine cessatione^z et mensura ex omni parte mittebant sagittas, ceteri uero^{aa} audacter fregerunt muros. Interim uiri Ierusalem iniere^{bb} consilium, ut omnes quotquot habere equos et arma possent de ciuitate egredientes, constanter per portam que ducit Iosaphat exirent,^{cc} quatinus sic deo concedente aduersarios a muris aliquantulum expellerent.

^a corrected from fugie V ^b quidam AP ^{c-c} in different hand, perhaps written over erasure C ^d repeated V ^e machimas V ^f in different hand, again perhaps over an erasure C ^g interlin. in different hand C ^h repeated and crossed out after ruptores V ^{i-t} corrected from (?) fundamenda A ^j tyrannus P ^k om. P ^l corrected from eos A ^m talums (with -s expunctuated) V ⁿ corrected from ordinatim A ^o interlin. in different hand A ^{p-p} ui. qui. cus. CV ^q extupefacti C ^r uelut V ^s occurrite P ^t accesserunt P ^u -ma-interlin. in different hand A ^v corrected from ign (expunctuated, with h- interlin. in different hand) C ^w expunctuated V ^x iacendo AP ^y quiquid CA ^z cessatione A, cessacione VP ^{aa} om. V ^{bb} medial -e- interlin. in different hand A ^{cc} followed by erasure (? of ut) C

leave, rejoiced with great joy and said: 'The king of Syria is fleeing because he cannot destroy the city as he had intended.' But this rejoicing was very quickly turned into grief and lamentation when they realised the truth of the matter. For the tyrant immediately gave the order to construct siege engines and erect ballistas in that same place, to collect the branches of the olives and other trees and arrange them strongly between the city and the engines, and that very evening he ordered his army to take up arms and the breakers of the walls to lead the way with iron tools, so that they would all be ready right up to the foundations of the walls before the Christians could take notice of this. The cruellest tyrant appointed almost 10,000 knights on their horses, armed with lances and bows, to stand in the way of the men of the city if they wished to come out. But he appointed another 10,000, or more than that, well-armed down to their ankles under shields and targes, to shoot with bows.¹⁸⁰ He also kept the others with himself and his commanders around the siege engines. Drawn up in this way, at the break of dawn they began to break down the corner tower and cut through the walls all around; the archers started to shoot; [and] those who were around the siege engines began hurling rocks furiously. But the men of the city, thinking nothing of this, leaving the city and the walls unguarded, exhausted and weakened by weariness, slept until morning, because unless the Lord guards the city, he who guards it keeps watch in vain.

When the sun had risen, those who had slept in the towers, awoken by the din of the barbarians, struck with terror upon seeing these things [and] stunned as if out of their senses, cried throughout the city: 'Men of Jerusalem, hurry! Bring us aid! Help! Even now the foreigners are forcing their way in, having broken through the walls!' Roused, they hurried through the city with what strength they could [muster], but they did not have the strength to force the Damascenes outside back from the walls with missiles, spears, arrows, stones, or molten bronze and lead. The Turks fired at the ramparts furiously without cease by launching rocks and the [kind of] fire they call 'Greek', consuming wood and stone and whatever it touched, between the wall and the antemural. The archers shot arrows from every side without cease or measure, while the others boldly broke down the walls.

In the meantime, the men of Jerusalem made a plan together that all who had horses and arms should go out from the city through the gate that leads to Josaphat, standing firm as they went forth so that in this way, God permitting, they might drive the adversaries back from the walls

¹⁸⁰ A 'targe' (*tarcia*, *tarca*, *targa*) was a large kidney-shaped shield, originally from the Maghreb: see David Nicolle, *Arms and armour of the crusading era 1050–1350: Islam, Eastern Europe and Asia* (London, 1999), pp. 133, 135, 137, 150, 156–8, 164, 166, 259, 277.

Sed uerti^a sunt a Turcis qui in equis erant, et lacrimabiliter^b repulsi, cunctis per murum^c conclamantibus: ‘Sancta Maria, sancta Maria, adiuua nos!’ Nec ultra quidem aditus exeundi patebat christianis. Fit^d igitur planctus, fletus et tumultus flentium, et uestimenta per angustia et dolore per ecclesias et plateas scindentium. Nam alii quidem plangebant sanctam ciuitatem et sepulcrum^e domini, montemque sanctissimum Caluarie ubi sanguis^f propitiationis pro^g salute^g generis^h humani effusus est. Alii autem plangebant fratres et amicos iam interfectos uel morti proximos, alii filios iam iamque telis barbarorum ablaturus, ceteri omnes communem dolorem mortis uel captiuitatis sibi et ceteris iam iminere.

Pugnabant igitur Caldei crudeli certamine per aliquot dies, et preualuerunt. Iam uero christiani ita defecti erant, ut uix .XX. uel .XXX. ad defensiones murorum ciuitatis apparebant. Nec inueniebatur homo tam audax in omni ciuitate, qui pro precio centum bisanciorum auderet una nocte ad defensionem uigilare. Ego siquidem auribus meis audiui sub uoce preconia ex parte domini patriarche et ceterorum magnorumⁱ ciuitatis inter murum^j magnum et ante^k murale conclamare, ut si quinquaginta seruiantes fortes et audaces inuenti fuissent qui angulum iam dirutum armis ad eorum uoluntatem [fol. 16v] acceptis^l illa nocte tantum custodirent,^m quinque milia bisanciorumⁿ accepissent,^o nec fuerant inuenti. Erat autem iam pene omnibus^p una uoluntas, scilicet in^q simplicitate sua et in sancta^r ciuitate in confessione Christi mori, atque sic unusquisque portionem suam terre promissionis^s

^a ueri with -ti interlin. C, ueriti with -ti interlin. A, ueriti V, ueluti P ^b preceded by a (crossed out) A ^c muros V ^d corrected from Et in different hand A ^e sepulchrum VP ^f add. in mg. P ^{g-g} om. P ^h eris partially amended (from what is unclear) A ⁱ repeated and expunctuated after ciuitatis A ^j corrected from (?) mure A ^k preceded by erasure (? of ne) A, interlin. in different hand V ^l accepturis (with abbreviation for -ur- added in different ink) A, accepturis P ^m custodierent with first -e- expunctuated A ⁿ -ciorum in mg. and marked for insertion C ^o preceded by ac CA (expunctuated in A) ^p in mg. C, interlin. in different hand A ^q im (with -m expunctuated) V ^r santa A ^s corrected from spromissionis A

somewhat.¹⁸¹ But they were turned around and driven back mournfully by the Turks, who were on horses, with all those along the wall crying out, 'Holy Mary, holy Mary, help us!' No means of getting away lay open to the Christians any longer. Then there was lamenting, weeping, and the commotion of those crying and tearing their clothes out of anguish and grief throughout the churches and the streets. For some were indeed lamenting the Holy City, the Sepulchre of the Lord, and the most holy hill of Calvary, where the blood of propitiation was poured out for the salvation of the human race.¹⁸² Some were lamenting brothers and friends already killed or very near to death. Others [were lamenting] sons who were just about to be taken away by the missiles of the barbarians, and all the rest [were lamenting] the common suffering of death or captivity that now threatened them and everyone else.

The Chaldeans fought in the cruel struggle for several days and gained the upper hand.¹⁸³ By now the Christians had grown so weak that scarcely twenty or thirty men were seen at the defences of the city walls. Nor was there to be found in the entire city a man so bold as to keep one night's watch at the defence for a payment of one hundred bezants.¹⁸⁴ Indeed, I myself heard with my own ears a herald crying out between the great wall and the curtain wall, on behalf of the lord patriarch and the other great men of the city, that if fifty strong and brave sergeants might be found who, after willingly taking up arms, would guard for only that night the corner that had already been demolished, they would receive 5,000 bezants.¹⁸⁵ But they were not found. By now almost everyone had one desire: that is, to die in their simplicity and in the Holy City in praise of Christ. In this way each person might obtain their share of the Promised Land in so far as their

¹⁸¹ According to *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVIII (p. 213) and the Lyon *Eracles*, §51, p. 64 (trans. Edbury, pp. 56–7), the siege was now fought out between St Stephen's Gate and Josaphat Gate, and there was no postern gate through which the defenders could sally out, except for the Madeleine Gate (St Mary Magdalene's Postern), which gave access to the space between the two walls.

¹⁸² Romans 3:24–5; 1 John 2:2.

¹⁸³ The Chaldeans were inhabitants of southern Babylonia, identified with the Babylonians as well as with magicians and astronomers. The association between Muslims and Chaldeans was common in crusader texts, but has its roots in early medieval Iberia: see Nicholas Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 203–4.

¹⁸⁴ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 22 repeats much of this sentence verbatim. See Appendix 1.

¹⁸⁵ Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius', p. 200 observed a comment in the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles* that a soldier was usually paid one bezant per day and one per night. Five thousand divided by fifty is one hundred per person for one night only, so the offer represents a premium of a hundred times the usual rate. See Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles* XXIII.lvi (p. 85).

in quantum cadauer suum ^a gentibus^a pro Christo conculcatum iacuisset^b optineret. Ve mihi misero omnibusque^c peccatoribus deteriori quod portionem meam terre sancte, tali funiculo mensurationis non accepi. Inter hec homines Ierusalem inhabitantes humum suam peccatis plenam plusquam Christum diligentes, pulcrarum^d mulierum filiorum et filiarum Mammone quoque cui^e seruiebant recordatione commoti, consiliati sunt quatinus cum hiis omnibus, sancta ciuitate^f locisque sacris relictis, euaderent. Interim miserunt legatos ad regem^g Sirie^h supplicantes quatinus indignationem animi sui circa eos temperaret, atque sicut ceteras gentes eosⁱ etiam haberet federatos. At illo renuente, tale fertur dedisse responsum: ‘Ego uero a sapientibus nostris alphachinis frequenter audiui Ierusalem non posse mundari, nisi sanguine christianorum lauetur, atque super hoc eorum uolo habere consilium.’ Et sic incerti redierunt. Miserunt et alios, Balisanum et Rainerium^j Neapolenses, et Thomam Patricium, centum milia bisanciorum offerentes,^k nec uoluit eos recipere, et spe frustrati^l reuersi sunt. Remiserunt itaque eos iterum cum aliis flagitantes quatinus ipse Saladinus conuentionem quam uellet, diceret, et si fieri posset, fieret,^m sin autem, ad interitum sui remanerent.

^{a-a} agentibus A ^b iacuisse P ^c -que interlin. in different hand A ^d corrected from pulierum A ^e tui P ^f sciuitate with s- expunctuated V ^g <id est> saladinus add. in mg. in different hand C, id est saladinus add. in mg. in different hand V, carried into text AP ^h syrie V ⁱ corrected from eas A ^j corrected from reinerium in different hand A ^k offerrentes AP ^l ffrustrati with initial f- expunctuated C ^m interlin. in different hand A

body had lain trampled by the Gentiles for Christ. Woe to me, wretched and worse than all sinners, that I did not take up my portion of the Holy Land with such a measuring line!¹⁸⁶

In the meantime, the men dwelling in Jerusalem, loving their land, [which was] full of sins, more than Christ, moved by the remembrance of their beautiful wives, sons, and daughters, and also of Mammon, whom they served,¹⁸⁷ took counsel as to how they might leave with all of these after abandoning the Holy City and the sacred places.

Meanwhile, they sent envoys to the king of Syria, imploring him to temper the wrath of his spirit against them and also to consider them as allies by treaty, like other nations.¹⁸⁸ But he, refusing, is said to have given the following reply: ‘I have often heard from our wise men, the *fuqahā*, that Jerusalem cannot be cleansed unless it is washed with the blood of Christians, and I want to take [their] advice on this.’¹⁸⁹ And thus they returned feeling disturbed. They also sent others: Balian and Rainer of Nablus, and Thomas Patricius, offering 100,000 bezants.¹⁹⁰ But [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] did not wish to receive them, and they returned frustrated in their hopes. So they sent them back again, together with others, urging the same Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to dictate [whatever] agreement he desired; and if it could be made, he would make it; but if not, they would hold out until his destruction.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ For interpretation of this complex passage, see Introduction, pp. 58–9.

¹⁸⁷ In Matthew 6:24, during the Sermon on the Mount, Christ says: “No man can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will hold to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon.” See also Luke 16:13. Mammon was often interpreted as a wicked deity in medieval exegesis.

¹⁸⁸ According to *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVIII (p. 215), the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.lvi (p. 86), and the Lyon *Eracles*, §53, p. 66 (trans. Edbury, pp. 57–9), the envoy was Balian of Ibelin, who was in command of the city. He had earlier been at Tyre after escaping from Ḥattīn, and was granted leave by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to go to Jerusalem to recover his wife, children, and household, and to bring them to Tripoli on the condition that he stayed only one night in Jerusalem. Patriarch Eraclius absolved him of his oath to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and he stayed on to co-ordinate the defence of the city.

¹⁸⁹ On this passage, see Introduction, pp. 39–40.

¹⁹⁰ On the identities of Rainer of Nablus and Thomas Patricius, see Introduction, pp. 41–2, 50.

¹⁹¹ In some accounts, Balian threatens that the Christians will ruin Jerusalem (some accounts single out the Dome of the Rock) and fight to the death if Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn fails to offer terms: see Lyon *Eracles*, §53, p. 66 (trans. Edbury, pp. 57–9); Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 332; and Abū Shāma, pp. 328–29.

XXIV *De tributo Ierosolimiis imposito^a*

Accepto itaque consilio^b tale tributum Ierosolimitis instituit,^c quatinus unusquisque masculus decem annorum et supra pro sui liberatione decem bisantios persolueret, femina, quinque, puer septem annorum et infra, unum. Et sic a seruitute liberati, quo^d uellent^e cum suorum securitate securi abirent. Si uero talis federatio Ierosolimitis non placeret, uel qui decem bisantia^f non haberet, preda^g hostibus in ore gladii deuorantis existerent. Placuit ergo sermo iste domino patriarche et ceteris qui pecunias^h habebant.ⁱ Mirabile factum! [fol. 17r] Quis unquam audiuit talia:^j heres^k dedit precium ut ab hereditate fieret^l alienus? Quis unquam dato precio reliquit^m hereditatem? Alii quidem pugnando morti se opponunt ne ignauia sue pigricie degeneresⁿ parentum fiant, hereditatemque cum sui confusione^o et obprobrio^p improbitatis amittant. Isti uero ne heredes fiant hereditatemque amittant, precio cum obprobrio peruersitatis comparant. Plangit autem inter istos Ieremias propheta lamentando et reuocando ab errore^q si possibile esset, dicens:^r ‘Quomodo sedet sola ciuitas plena populo,’ et cetera. Quinque hic commemorantur, scilicet: sessio, sola, plena, uidua, domina. Sedet autem ciuitas iudicans iudicia iniusta. Sedet in cinere^s et in sui sceleris^t pollutione.^u Nam si staret in uirtute equalitatis, pugnaret utique contra hostes iniquitatis. Sola autem dicitur sine auxilio et protectione dei,^v sine ueris^w Christi cultoribus, sola a dilectione dei et proximi. Vnde Salomon:^x ‘Ve soli quia si ceciderit non habet subleuantem.’ Plena populo, populo iniquo et tumultuante, et non penitente, populo graui iniquitate. De quo Ysaias:^y ‘Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me.’ Vidua uero commemoratur a pontificali dignitate et regali potestate. Vidua, anulo fidei amisso. Vidua, quoniam cirographum^z sponsi sui Christi intrantibus Sarracenis amisit.

^{a-a} om. AP ^b consio C, conscio AP ^c -tu- interlin. in different hand A
^d quod P ^e -lent add. in different hand C ^f bisancia V, bisansia P ^g prada
CV, ‘corrected’ from prada with medial -a- interlin. in different hand A, preda but with
medial -a- interlin. in different hand P ^h corrected from pecuniam V ⁱ second
-b- interlin. A ^j corrected from talias, followed by unclear interlin. abbreviation
(? et or quod) A ^k et heres P ^l fieres P ^m reliquid AP ⁿ degneres CA,
digneris P ^o corrected from confusionem A ^p opprobrio AP ^q herrore with
h- expunctuated P ^r dicensdi with final -di expunctuated V ^s scinere (underlined
and marked in mg. for emendation) V ^t celeris V ^u pollutone CA, pollutione VP
^v om. V ^w uereis with second -e- expunctuated C ^x salomon has been altered,
perhaps from salomvn V ^y ysayas V ^z cyrographum V, sirographum P

XXIV *About the tribute imposed on the Jerusalemites*

Having taken counsel, [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] imposed a tribute on the Jerusalemites such that every single male of ten years and over should pay ten bezants for his freedom; a woman, five; a boy of seven years and below, one.¹⁹² And having been freed from slavery in this way, they might go untroubled with a guarantee of their possessions wherever they wished. If, however, such a treaty was not agreeable to the Jerusalemites, or [if there were] those who did not have ten bezants, they were to be prey for the enemy by the edge of the devouring sword. These words were therefore pleasing to the lord patriarch and the others who had wealth.

What an extraordinary act! Who has ever heard the like—that an heir paid to be alienated from his inheritance? Who has ever given up an inheritance after making a payment? Indeed, others expose themselves to death by fighting so that they do not, through the sloth of their indolence, become unworthy of their fathers and lose their inheritance by their own disgrace and the shame of improbity. These men, however, pay in money with the shame of perversity so as not to become heirs and lose the inheritance.¹⁹³

The prophet Jeremiah laments among them, bewailing and recalling them from error (if that were possible), saying: ‘How doth the city sit solitary [that was] full of people?’, et cetera. Five things are called to mind here, that is: ‘sitting’; ‘solitary’; ‘full’; ‘widow’; ‘mistress’. The city sits judging unjust judgements. She sits in ashes in the pollution of her wickedness. For if she stood in the virtue of justice, she would certainly fight against the enemies of evil. But without the aid and protection of God, without true worshippers of Christ, forsaken by the love of God and neighbour, she is called ‘solitary’, whence Solomon [says]: ‘Woe to him that is alone, for if he falleth, he hath none to lift him up.’ ‘Full of people’, an evil, confused, and impenitent people, a people of grave evil, about whom Isaiah [says]: ‘This people honours me with its lips, but their heart is far from me.’ A ‘widow’, however, is called to mind by priestly dignity and royal power; a widow, having lost the ring of faith; a widow, since she has lost the bond of her spouse, Christ, to the

¹⁹² See *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIX (p. 222); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII. lix (p. 91); Lyon *Eracles*, §55, p. 69 (trans. Edbury, p. 61); and *IP1*, p. 264. Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 23 repeats much of this sentence verbatim: see Appendix I. Ibn Shaddād, p. 78 and *History of the Patriarchs*, pp. 133, 135 agree with the figures, with *History of the Patriarchs* quoting a letter from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, but Ibn al-ʿAdīm, p. 183 and Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 332, both following ʿImād al-Dīn, say that the ransom for children was two dinars. See also Abū Shāma, p. 329.

¹⁹³ Here the author offers a moral judgment on three means of losing one’s inheritance: (1) through martyrdom; (2) through inaction; and (3) through actively paying to alienate it. Clearly, he regarded the first option as ideal and the third as worthy of condemnation.

Et tamen domina dicitur, quia omnes^a tribus terre sub eius potestate rediguntur. Feria igitur .VI. die secundo Octobris recitata est hec conuentio per plateas Ierusalem quatinus unusquisque per spacia .XL. dierum^b sibi prouideret, taleque^c tributum quale^d predictum est pro sui liberatione Saladino persoluisset. Hiis autem auditis, uulgus per ciuitatem lamentabili uoce lugebat dicens: ‘Ve, ve^e nobis miseris! Quid faciemus qui aureos non habemus? Maluimus et melius esset nobis mori pro Christo in sancta ciuitate quam sub dira seruitute Turcis et Sarracenis pollutis et inmundis^f relicta sancta terra promissionis seruire.’ Quis unquam poterat cogitare tale nephas a christianis^g perpetrari, sepulcrum resurrectionis Christi et nobile templum, et sanctissimum montem Syon et cetera loca sancte ciuitatis sponte in manibus gentium tradere? Proh dolor! Non est dolor similis dolori^h isti. Nusquam legitur iudeos sanctaⁱ sanctorum [fol. 17v] absque effusione sanguinis et duro certamine deseruisse, nec tamen sponte tradidisse.^j Pereant isti mercatores pessimi qui secundo Christum et sanctam ciuitatem uendiderunt, sicut ille mercator malignus qui suspensus crepuit medius, et quod peius est, diffusa sunt omnia uiscera malignitatis eius in istis, scilicet in illis qui pro impositione^k manuum et ecclesiasticis sacramentis munera exigunt. De istis iterum Ieremias:^l ‘Sed et lamie nudauerunt mammas,’ id est, quales intus extiterant in mente, foras demonstraerunt in opere. Et lactauerunt catulos suos, malam scilicet conscientiam, et concupiscentiam auaricie sue, ita

^a omnis P ^b corrected from (?) dierunt in different hand C ^c talem AP
^d qualem with -m erased P ^e interlin. in different hand C, om. V ^f inmundus A
^g pianis for xpianis A, pianis with second letter blotted (? erased) P ^h dori V
ⁱ sancti in mg. in different hand A ^j second -di- interlin. V ^k impositione CAP
^l ieremias V

invading Saracens. And yet, she is called ‘mistress’, since all the tribes of the earth will be reduced beneath her dominion.¹⁹⁴

On the sixth day of the week, the second day of October, this agreement was read aloud through the streets of Jerusalem, so that for a period of forty days each and every one should make arrangements for himself and should pay Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn such payment as was agreed for his own freedom.¹⁹⁵ When they had heard these things, the common people lamented throughout the city with a mournful voice, saying: ‘Woe, woe to wretched us! What shall those of us who have no gold do? We preferred—and it would have been better for us—to die for Christ in the Holy City than to serve the polluted and filthy Turks and Saracens under dreadful servitude, having abandoned the holy Promised Land.’¹⁹⁶

Who could ever have imagined that such a wicked deed could be perpetrated by Christians—to hand over the Sepulchre of the Resurrection of Christ and the noble Temple and the most holy Mount Zion and the other places of the Holy City voluntarily into the hands of Gentiles? Oh, the grief! There is no grief like this grief!¹⁹⁷ Nowhere have we read that the Jews forsook the Holy of Holies without hard fighting and the spilling of blood, nor that they handed it over willingly. May these most evil merchants who sold the Holy City and Christ for a second time perish, just like that wicked merchant who burst asunder in the midst [when he was] hanged—and what is worse, all the organs of his wickedness have gushed out upon them (that is to say, upon those who exact gifts for the laying on of hands and ecclesiastical sacraments).¹⁹⁸ About these men, Jeremiah once again [says]: ‘But even the sea cows have drawn out [their] breasts’ (that is, they revealed openly in action the kinds of things that had been in their mind) ‘and they have given suck to their young’, that is, to evil conscience and the lust of their avarice;

¹⁹⁴ See Introduction, pp. 61–2 for an explanation of this paragraph and its biblical resonances.

¹⁹⁵ In the Lyon *Eracles*, §56, p. 69 (trans. Edbury, p. 61) the period is fifty days. In *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIX (pp. 223, 225) it is forty days. Ibn Shaddād does not specify the period, but Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 322, following ‘Imād al-Dīn, also gives 40 days. The grace period ended on 10/11 November 1187.

¹⁹⁶ A similar sentiment is expressed in *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XVIII (p. 214) and Lyon *Eracles*, §53, p. 66 (trans. Edbury, p. 58). Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 333 says that 16,000 were enslaved. ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 49 says 15,000. Generally speaking, sexual enslavement was a possible outcome for female captives: see Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter between enemies: Captivity and ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 161–72.

¹⁹⁷ Lamentations 1:12. Also cited in *IP1*, p. 265.

¹⁹⁸ Matthew 27:3–10 has Judas commit suicide by hanging himself, while Acts 1:18–19 adds the detail that his ‘bowels burst asunder’. Here the author implicitly compares the sale of Jerusalem to the sin of simony, that is, the sale and purchase of ecclesiastical offices.

scilicet in aliena regione sicut in illa, falsis ponderibus et uanis sacramentis decipere proximos meditantes. Lamia siquidem effigiem hominis ostendit in uultu, sed corpus et sensum beluinum trahit. Fiant ergo filii eorum orphani et uxores eorum uidue in terra aliena, qui hereditatem crucifixi et suam moribus, et uita honesta, et exemplo precedentium noluerunt uendicare.

that is, in this way [they were] seeking, in a strange land like in that one, to deceive their neighbours with false weights and empty oaths.¹⁹⁹ For a sea cow indeed displays the likeness of a human being on its face, but it bears the body and mind of a beast.²⁰⁰ Therefore, ‘let their children be orphans, and their wives widows’²⁰¹ in a strange land, [that is, the wives and children of those] who did not wish to defend the inheritance of the Crucified One—and their own [inheritance]—by the customs, honourable life, and example of [their] forefathers.

¹⁹⁹ Lamentations 4:3. The author here accuses the Christians in Jerusalem of false faith equivalent to that of a broken oath or a false weight, which therefore makes Jerusalem alien to them because of their sins.

²⁰⁰ Gregory I, *Liber moralium continuatio*, in *PL*, vol. 76, col. 116A interprets sea cows (*lamiae*) figuratively as heretics, observing that they have ‘a human face, indeed, but beastly hearts through impiety’. He goes on to say: ‘When they freely preach their error, they draw out their breast. Then they give suck to their young, because, while they insinuate perverse things, they wickedly encourage the pliable souls of children to impiety by suckling them.’

²⁰¹ Psalms 108:9.

XXV *Quomodo urbs Ierusalem reddita est Salahadino^a*

Anno igitur millesimo centesimo octogesimo septimo ab incarnationem^b domini nostri Iesu Christi, mense Octobris, tertia die mensis, unde quidam: 'Terdecimis demptis ab annis mille ducentis, tertia lux luxit Octobris, et urbs sacra luxit, quinto Idus Octobris, D littera dominicalis, deleta^c est ciuitas die sabbati, et deriserunt increduli^d sabbata^e cordium christianorum,' traditaque est Ierusalem prohdolor in manibus nephandorum a nephandis christianis, et clause^f sunt ianue positis custodibus.

^a saladino AP ^b incarnatione AP ^c corrected from delata with interlin. -e-A, deleta P ^d om. P ^e first -a- interlin. in different hand P ^f followed by erasure, perhaps of -que A

**XXV *How the city of Jerusalem was handed over
to Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn***²⁰²

In the year 1187 from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the month of October, on the third day of the month, whence some people [say]:

Thirteen having been taken from 1200 years,
The third light of October shone, and the holy city mourned,²⁰³
On the fifth of the Ides of October, D [being] the Dominical Letter,²⁰⁴
The city was destroyed on the day of the Sabbath [Saturday], and the
infidels mocked the Sabbaths of Christian hearts.²⁰⁵

Jerusalem was handed over—oh, the grief!—into the hands of the wicked by wicked Christians,²⁰⁶ guards were posted, and the gateways

²⁰² The position of this rubric varies from manuscript to manuscript. Its placement here is an editorial decision.

²⁰³ The Latin in this line centres around a homonymic pun on ‘shone’ (*luxit*) and ‘mourned’ (*luxit*).

²⁰⁴ The medieval Church used a recurring series of seven letters (from A to G) to determine the day of the week on which the date of particular feasts (most crucially, Easter) would fall. The Dominical Letter of any given year indicates the letter assigned to every Sunday in that year (‘dominical’ is derived from *dominica*, the Latin word for ‘Sunday’). 1 January is always assigned the letter A, 2 January the letter B, 3 January the letter C (etc.), so a year whose Dominical Letter is A must begin on a Sunday. In 1187, which began on a Thursday, the Dominical Letter was D. On this system, see Christopher R. Cheney (ed.), *A Handbook of Dates: For Students of British History*, rev. Michael Jones (Cambridge, 2004 [rprt]), p. 7.

²⁰⁵ The author writes above in Chapter XXIV that an agreement was read out on the Friday that Jerusalem would be surrendered; the city was then ‘handed over’ on Saturday 3 October 1187, presumably meaning the Christians left on this date. Other sources (Christian and Muslim) agree that it was surrendered on Friday 2 October 1187: see *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIX (p. 225); Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.lxi (p. 94); Lyon *Eracles*, §56, p. 70 (trans. Edbury, p. 62); Ibn Shaddād, p. 77; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 332; ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 47. However, Saturday 3 October 1187 was not ‘the fifth of the Ides of October’, which (counting inclusively according to standard Roman and medieval practice) was Sunday, 11 October 1187. The mocking of ‘the Sabbaths of the Christian hearts’ by the Muslims refers to the disquiet the Christians felt at the loss of Jerusalem. The Hebrew word *shabbat* had long been interpreted as meaning ‘rest’ in Christian exegesis, and ecclesiastical writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries appear to have used the phrase ‘Sabbath of the heart’ (*sabbatum cordis*) to denote emotional tranquility, spiritual stillness, inner peace, and so on. See, for example, Ivo of Chartres, *Letter* 192, in *PL*, vol. 162, col. 202A; Adam of Perseigne, *Letter* 29, in *PL*, vol. 211, col. 689A. We have been unable to determine the origin of this verse.

²⁰⁶ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 23 repeats this sentence almost verbatim, but omits the verse. See Appendix 1.

Igitur alphachini et cassini ministri scilicet nephandi erroris episcopi et presbiteri secundum opinionem Sarracenorum, primum Templum Domini quod 'beith^a halla' uocant, et quo magnam saluationis habent fiduciam, quasi causa^b orationis^c et religionis ascenderunt,^c mundare estimantes quod spurciciis^d et mugitibus horribilibus, legem Maumeti pollutis labiis uociferando, 'Halla haucaber,^e halla haucaber!' polluerunt. Coinquinauerunt omnia loca que in templo continentur: locum scilicet presentationis,^f ubi mater et uirgo gloriosa Maria filium dei ut eum secundum legem Moysi^g domino sisteret, in **[fol. 18r]** manibus iusti Symeonis^h tradidit. Et locum scilicet confessionis respicientem contra porticum Salomonis, ubi dominus mulieremⁱ in adulterio deprehensam, a dura lege et lapidea, et a^j lapidatione iudeorum, iuditium mutans in misericordiam, et legem in gratiam, digito scribente in terra, 'Qui sine peccato est primus in illam lapidem mittat,' liberauit. Locum etiam contra orientem ubi iudei^k Iacobum iustum, fratrem domini propter similitudinem^l uultus dictum,^l de pinna^m templi propter uerbum et testimonium Iesu Christi precipitauerunt, atque uecte fullonis percussum occiderunt.

^a beth P ^b om. V ^{c-c} orationis ascenderunt et religionis marked for transposition with double virgules C ^d first -ci- interlin. in different hand A ^e hau haucaber AP ^f -ta- interlin. in different hand A ^g -y- written over erasure V ^h simeonis A ⁱ altered from mulierem with -v- interlin. in different hand A ^j interlin. in different hand A ^k interlin. V ^{l-l} uultus dictum similitudinem marked for transposition with triple virgules V ^m corrected from pinnacula A

were shut.²⁰⁷ Then the *fuqahā'* and *qūdā*, ministers of that wicked error, that is, bishops and priests according to the belief of the Saracens, first went up as if for the sake of prayer and worship to the Temple of the Lord—which they call *bayt Allāh*, and from which they have great assurance of salvation—thinking that they were cleansing that which they polluted with filth and horrible bellowing, shouting out the law of Muḥammad with polluted lips: '*Allāhu akbar! Allāhu akbar!*'²⁰⁸ They befouled all the sites contained in the Temple: namely, the place of presentation, where the mother and glorious Virgin, Mary, handed the Son of God into the hands of Symeon the Just so that he might present him to the Lord according to the law of Moses.²⁰⁹ [They also befouled] the place of confession, opposite Solomon's Porch, where the Lord delivered a woman taken in adultery from a harsh and stony law, and from the stone-throwing of the Jews, changing judgement into mercy and law into grace, as he was writing on the ground with his finger, 'Let him who is without sin first throw a stone at her'.²¹⁰ [They also befouled] the place to the east where the Jews struck James the Just with a fuller's pole because of the word and testimony of Jesus Christ, and threw him from the pinnacle of the temple to his death, [he who] was called the brother of the Lord because of the similarity of his face.²¹¹

²⁰⁷ Just as the gates of Jerusalem were shut at the beginning of the *Libellus*, they are closed again here, in what appears to have been the penultimate chapter of the work before it was continued.

²⁰⁸ On the *fuqahā'* and *qūdā*, see Introduction, pp. 35–6, 39–40; on *bayt Allāh*, see Introduction, pp. 34–5; on the acclamation and cleansing, see Introduction, pp. 34–5.

²⁰⁹ Luke 2:25–35.

²¹⁰ John 8:1–7. Note that what Jesus actually writes on the ground is not revealed in the Gospel account. His famous statement is uttered aloud.

²¹¹ An extrabiblical tradition, apparently dating from the first century, holds that James the Just perished in this way: see John Painter, *Just James: The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition*, 2nd edn (Columbia, 2004), pp. 117–42. John of Würzburg, p. 92 supplies similar details to those given in the *Libellus*.

XXVI *De precipitacione auree crucis*

Auream quoque crucem, sicut et ceteras per omnem ciuitatem, funibus innexis de^a pinna^b Templi ad obprobrium christianorum, cum magnis clamoribus subsannando et deridendo adoratores crucis, flentibus christianis crines^c et uestes rumpentibus pectora et capita tundentibus, pre dolore et tristitia et nimia cordis anxietate iam pene deficientibus, precipitauerunt. Posuerunt etiam custodes ne quis christianorum septa atrii Templi intraret. Vnde Ieremias: ‘Reppulit dominus^d altare suum, maledixit sanctificationi^e sue.’ Et iterum: ‘Propter peccata sacerdotum, et iniquitates^f populorum, alieni in domo domini uocem dederunt sicut in die sollempni.’ Ascendit^g autem ex altera parte Sephidin, montem sanctam Syon atque ecclesiam noui sacramenti celebratione,^h frequentatione et orationibus apostolorum et gloriose uirginis Marie post ascensionemⁱ domini, aduentu spiritus sancti super apostolos in die Pentecostes, dormitione beate Marie, salutatione domini post resurrectionem dicentis discipulis, ‘Pax uobis,’ sanctificatam, sui et suorum inhabitantium inmunditiis, commensatione, potatione, luxuria, sancta loca et se et suos polluere non metuit. Interim sepulcrum domini denudatum et omni ornatu expoliatum est, patulumque omnibus^j christianis et Sarracenis conmixtim inrantibus.

^a ad V ^b pinnacula AP, *underlined* V ^c creines with first -e- expunctuated A ^d -s added in different hand A ^e sanctificationis with -s expunctuated C, sanctificationis AVP ^f iniquitatis P ^g Ascendit A ^h celebrationem CAVP
ⁱ assencionem AP ^j followed by repeated abbreviation for -us P

XXVI *About the casting down of the golden cross*

To the shame of the Christians, they also cast down the golden cross from the pinnacle of the Temple, having tied ropes to it, just like other [crosses] throughout the whole city, mocking and deriding the worshippers of the Cross with tremendous shouts while the Christians wept, tearing their hair and garments, beating their breasts and heads, now almost dying of grief, sadness, and extreme anxiety of heart.²¹² They also posted guards so that none of the Christians might enter the precincts of the forecourt of the Temple, whence Jeremiah [says]: ‘God has rejected his altar, he has cursed his sanctuary’; and again: ‘For the sins of the priests and the iniquities of the people’, strangers in the house of the Lord ‘made a noise, as on a day of solemn feast’.²¹³ From the other side, Saif al-Dīn ascended the holy Mount Zion and the church—sanctified by the celebration of the new sacrament, by the gathering and the prayers of the apostles and the glorious Virgin Mary after the Ascension of the Lord, by the coming of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost, by the dormition of the blessed Mary,²¹⁴ by the Lord’s greeting to his disciples after the Resurrection, saying ‘Peace be with you’—and he did not fear to pollute the holy places, himself, and his own men through his own impurities and those of his men dwelling there in revelling, drinking, [and] wantonness.²¹⁵ Meanwhile, the Sepulchre of the Lord was stripped and plundered of all decoration, and stood wide open to all Christians and Saracens entering it jointly.²¹⁶ Furthermore, [they] stripped

²¹² The overthrow of the cross from the Dome of the Rock (*Templum Domini*) is mentioned in Muslim and Christian sources: Ibn Shaddād, p.78; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, p. 184; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 334; *Ernoul-Bernard*, c. XIX (p. 234); Lyon *Eraclès*, §62, p. 75 (trans. Edbury, p. 67); and *IP1*, p. 265.

²¹³ Lamentations 2:7, 5:2, 4:13 (also alluding to Ephesians 2:19).

²¹⁴ The ‘dormition’ (that is, the ‘falling asleep’ or ‘death’ of the Virgin) or the ‘assumption’ (that is, her being ‘taken up’ into heaven) was celebrated on 15 August probably from the reign of the emperor Maurice (r. 582–602). The two celebrations reflected differing opinions as to whether Mary actually died or was assumed into heaven: see Brian E. Daley (trans.), *On the Dormition of Mary: Early Patristic Homilies* (Crestwood, New York, 1998).

²¹⁵ On the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, see Acts 2:1–13. The assumption of the Virgin Mary is an extra-biblical tradition. For Jesus’ encounter with his disciples following the Resurrection, see Luke 24:36; John 20:19, 21, 26. See Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 3, pp. 261–87 (n^o 336) on the abbey church of St Mary of Mount Zion. ʿImād al-Dīn, p. 58 indeed reports that Saif al-Dīn took possession of the abbey church and his troops erected their tents there.

²¹⁶ ʿImād al-Dīn, p. 59 reports that the Holy Sepulchre (which he calls ‘the Church of the Resurrection’) was closed up, and that Christians were not allowed to visit it. He then describes the Muslims’ debate as to whether or not to destroy it, with those in favour losing out. He also reports (p. 49) that Eraclius was the one who stripped the Sepulchre of its treasures.

Et etiam locus, ubi uestigia crucis nostre redemptionis in monte sancto apparent, dextera parte habentia fissuram magnam in ipso lapide, ubi sanguis et aqua de latere saluatoris^a in cruce pendentis in terra profluxerunt denudatus et expoliatus est.

^a *corrected from saluatores with interlin. -i- V*

and plundered the place where the vestiges of the Cross of our redemption are visible on the holy mountain, having a great fissure on the right side in that very rock where blood and water flowed to the ground from the side of the Saviour as he hung on the Cross.²¹⁷

²¹⁷ Matthew 27:51; John 19:34. See Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 3, pp. 6–72 (n° 283) on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which encompasses Calvary (Golgotha), the perceived site of Christ's crucifixion, and the fissure in the rock said to have been made by the earthquake accompanying his death. This moment marks the end of what appears to have been the original *Libellus* before it was copied and extended at Coggeshall. The narrative thus came to a close in conjunction with the author's reference to Christ's passion and death on the Cross, the climactic event of Christian history and an apposite terminus for an account of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's destruction of the church of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

**XXVII *Quomodo Salahadinus^a totam terram Iudee^b
fere optinuit***

[fol. 18v] Ciuitatem Ierusalem circiter octoginta nouem annis gens nostra tenuerat, ex quo ipsam pariter cum Antiochia uictoriosa christianorum recuperauit potentia, cum eam gentiles prius per annos .XL.^c possedisent. Infra breue tempus Saladinus toto regno Ierosolimitano fere potitus legem mahumeti^d magnificentius extulit, et eam christiane religioni precellere, rerum^e gestarum euentu pro posse^f probabat. Talia dum agerentur, archiepiscopus Tyri naui conscensa^g tante cladis nuntium orbi christiano detulit, ad lacrimas innumeros^h concitans, et plures ad uindictam accendens. Primus omnium magnanimus Pictauiue comes Ricardus ob ulciscendam crucis iniuriam cruceⁱ insignitur, et omnes precedit facto quos inuitat exemplo. Similiter pater eius rex Henricus iam uergens in senium cum rege Philippo et fere uniuersi proceres utriusque regni apud Gisortium^j crucizantur. Ad tam insigne certamen omnium feruebat studium, et etiam de claustris abiectis cucullis migrabant ad castra. Fredericus uero imperator cum suis crucem suscipiens in comitatu suo habuit septem^k antistites^l cum uno

^a saladinus *P* ^b iudeo *P* ^c altered to cccc lxi *V* ^d -h- interlin. *C*
^e et rerum *V* ^f proposse *CVP* ^g concensa *CAVP* ^h corrected from innumerus *A*
ⁱ written over erasure with -u- interlin. *V*, crucis *P* ^j gisorsium *A*, gizorcium *VP*
^k oseptem with o- expunctuated *V* ^l followed by erasure of approx. one letter *A*, antistitites *V*

**XXVII *How Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn took over almost
the whole land of Judea*²¹⁸**

Our people had held the city of Jerusalem for around eighty-nine years, from the time when the victorious might of the Christians recovered it together with Antioch (although the Gentiles had previously held it for forty years).²¹⁹ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, having taken possession of almost all of the kingdom of Jerusalem in a brief amount of time, proclaimed the law of Muḥammad rather boastfully and showed on account of the outcome of events that it was able to excel the Christian religion.²²⁰ While such things were being done, the archbishop of Tyre boarded a ship and bore the news of such a great disaster to the Christian world, provoking countless [people] to tears and rousing more to vengeance.²²¹ Before anyone else, the noble count of Poitou, Richard, was marked with the cross to avenge the injury of the Cross, and he preceded in deed all those whom he invited by his example.²²² Likewise, his father Henry, now sinking into old age, took the cross at Gisors with King Philip, [as did] almost all the nobles of both kingdoms.²²³ The eagerness of all burned for so eminent a struggle, and even [monks] from the cloisters came to the camp, having cast aside their cowls.²²⁴ The emperor Frederick, taking up the cross with his men, had in his company seven bishops with one

²¹⁸ From this point on, the style of the *Libellus* changes markedly, and there is a new hand in MS. C, the earliest manuscript exemplar. The person who continued the account drew heavily on the rubrics of *IP2*, occasionally incorporating material from the chapters themselves. References have been added throughout to assist the reader in identifying the precise details that the continuator mined from *IP2*.

²¹⁹ *IP2*, I.xix (p. 21); trans. Nicholson, p. 39. Jerusalem fell to the armies of the First Crusade on 15 July 1099; the crusaders had captured Antioch on 2 June 1098. It is not clear whether the author (quoting *IP2*) means that the Muslims had held Jerusalem or Antioch for forty years prior to the First Crusade. He is wrong in either case: the Seljuk Turks captured Antioch from the Byzantines in 1084, and Jerusalem had been under the control of various Muslim powers since it was conquered in 638.

²²⁰ *IP2*, I.xvi (p. 31); trans. Nicholson, p. 46.

²²¹ *IP2*, I.xvii (pp. 31–2); trans. Nicholson, p. 47. The preaching tour of Archbishop Joscius of Tyre is reported in numerous Western chronicles, though some of them mistakenly identify him as his predecessor, William.

²²² *IP2*, I.xvii (p. 32); trans. Nicholson, p. 47. Richard I ‘the Lionheart’, king of England (r. 1189–1199), who took the cross in the cathedral at Tours in the autumn of 1187 when he was still just count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine: see John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New York and London: Yale University Press, 2002 [rprt]), p. 87.

²²³ *IP2*, I.xvii (p. 32); trans. Nicholson, p. 47. Henry II, king of England (r. 1154–1189), and Philip II ‘Augustus’, king of France (r. 1179–1223), took the cross at a meeting between Gisors and Trie on 21 January 1188.

²²⁴ *IP2*, I.xvii (p. 32); trans. Nicholson, p. 48.

archipresule, duos duces, comites decem et nouem, tres marchiones, tria milia militum, reliquorum circiter octoginta milia, per Hungariam et Constantinopolim transiens.^a Eius^b exercitus graues impugnationes pertulit a soldano^c yconii^d antequam^e Yconium^e armata manu caperet. Deinde in Armeniam ueniens imperator in flumine Selefii submergitur eiusque filius dux Suauie super exercitum erigitur. Rumor uero de submersione^f imperatoris Turchos^g in Achon^h a christianis obsessos ualde letificauit, atque christicolisⁱ cum magna penuria obsidentes fere^j usque^j ad desperationem contristauit.

Rex autem Guido^k cum apud Damascum per annum fere tentus fuisset in uinculis Salahadinus^l illum absoluit, facta quadam pactione et abiurato regno, mare quam citius exul transiret. Cumque rex ueniret^m Tyrum, a marchisioⁿ non recipitur, unde^o Achon petit cum Pisanis et exercitu non modico, urbemque terra marique obsident. Ad hanc obsidionem primo uenit^p classis borealium uirorum numero .XII. milium. Postea applicuit^q Iacobus de Auennes figens^r tentoria ex aduerso turre maledicte et paulo ulterius templarii tendunt. [fol. 19r] Sane de regno Francorum et Anglorum iam plurimi ueniebant, regibus suis non expectatis.^s Inter alios uenit episcopus Beluacensis cum Roberto fratre suo comite. Venit^t et comes Brenensis

^a transsiens C ^b Cuius AP ^c corrected from *saldano* C, *saldano* AP
^d yconium AP ^{e-e} om. P ^f corrected from *subuersione* C, *subuercione* P
^g turcos AVP ^h ahcon, with -c- interlin. C ⁱ-s expunctuated A ^{j-j} ferensque A,
ferre usque P ^k Guydo P ^l saladinus AP ^m uenisset V ⁿ marchiso V
^o corrected from *unum*, with -de- interlin. by seemingly different hand and -um crossed
out A, *undeum* with -de- interlin. P ^p followed by erasure of approx. one letter C
^q aplicuit CAP ^r -ens interlin. over erasure in different hand A, corrected from
figiens P ^s exspectatis V ^t Venitque V

archbishop, two dukes, nineteen counts, three marquises, 3,000 knights, [and] nearly 80,000 others, passing through Hungary and Constantinople.²²⁵ His army suffered heavy attacks from the sultan of Iconium before it seized Iconium by force.²²⁶ Then the emperor, coming into Armenia, drowned in the River Saleph, and his son, the Duke of Swabia, was put in charge of the army.²²⁷ Word of the emperor's drowning greatly cheered the Turks in Acre, who had been besieged by the Christians, and saddened almost to the point of desperation the Christians, who were laying siege with great scarcity [of resources].²²⁸

When King Guy had been held in chains for almost a year at Damascus, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn released him, after making a certain agreement that [Guy]—having renounced the kingdom—would go across the sea [into] exile as quickly as possible.²²⁹ And when the king came to Tyre, he was not received by the marquis, for which reason he sought Acre with the Pisans and a not-inconsiderable army, and they besieged the city by land and sea.²³⁰ To this siege there first came a fleet of northern men, 12,000 in number.²³¹ After this, James of Avesnes arrived, pitching his tents on the other side of the Accursed Tower, and the Templars encamped a little further out.²³² Truly, a great many from the kingdoms of the French and the English now came without having waited for their kings. Among others, the bishop of Beauvais came with his brother, Count Robert. The count of Brienne came,

²²⁵ *IP2*, I.xxii (pp. 48–9); trans. Nicholson, p. 60. Frederick Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1155–1189), took the cross at Mainz on 27 March 1188. For accounts of his involvement in the Third Crusade, see Graham A. Loud (trans.), *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts* (Farnham, 2010).

²²⁶ *IP2*, I.xxiii (p. 49); trans. Nicholson, p. 60. The 'sultan of Iconium' was Kilij Arslan II, Seljuk sultan of Rūm (1156–1192). Barbarossa took Iconium (Konya) from the Turks on 18 May 1190.

²²⁷ *IP2*, I.xxv (p. 54); trans. Nicholson, p. 64. Frederick VI, duke of Swabia (1170–1191), was the third son of Frederick Barbarossa and Beatrice of Burgundy. The emperor died on 10 June 1190.

²²⁸ *IP2*, I.xxiv (p. 57); trans. Nicholson, p. 67. In this sentence, we have translated 'infra' in the manuscripts as 'intra'.

²²⁹ *IP2*, I.xxv (p. 59); trans. Nicholson, p. 68.

²³⁰ *IP2*, I.xxvi (p. 60); trans. Nicholson, p. 69. Guy was released from captivity in May 1188. He spent more than a year awaiting reinforcements from Europe, and laid siege to Acre on 28 August 1189.

²³¹ *IP2*, I.xxvii (p. 63); trans. Nicholson, p. 71.

²³² *IP2*, I.xxviii (pp. 65–6); trans. Nicholson, p. 74–5. James (or 'Jacques') was lord of Avesnes in northern France (*dép.* Pas-de-Calais). He arrived at Acre on 1 September 1189.

et comes de Baro, et^a Flandrenses^b plurimi. De Germania uenit quidam landegraue cum Alemannis, qui marchionem a rege Guidone dissentientem^c Achon uenire persuasit. Christiani castra gentilium uicina insiliunt, sed ab opidanis infestantur, et utrimque multi ceduntur inter quos et Girardus de Bedefordia magister templi occubuit. Dum quidam Alemannus cum sociis suis^d equum fugientem^e insequeretur, subito exorsus est clamor quod opidani obsessi exierant ad diripiendas sarcinas.^f Exinde bellorum ordo confunditur, disperguntur cunei, nullus^g signorum respectus, ipsi duces ad fugam precipites fiunt. Ex hac turbatione Turci audaciam resumentes, de nostris quamplurimos prosternunt.^h Sed christiani de die in diem crescentes,ⁱ dum fossatis circa urbem faciendis intendunt, grauiter sepius a Turcis leduntur. Turci infra Achon dum famem paterentur et deditionem^j urbis obsidentibus offerrent, subuenit Salahadinus .L. galeis missis, uiris, uictualibus^k et armis onustis, quibus galee nostre capte sunt et fugate, et quandam naue nostram uictualibus onustam secum^l uiolenter in urbem abduxerunt,^m suspende-
eruntque omnes in nauis repertos in circuitu murorum in die festo omnium sanctorum.

Cum iam Paschaⁿ instaret, marchisus^o qui classis reparande causa^p Tyrum secesserat,^q a Tyro cum ingenti apparatu et copia uirorum et armorum et uictualium reuertitur. Sed obsessi ereptam sibi libertatem equoris grauius sustinentes cum galeis suis obuiam uenientibus procedunt nauali prelio pugnaturi. Sed deo^r uolente^r uictoria cessit christianis. Interim Turci qui exterius christicolos obsidebant fossata^s nostra terra implebant, nostrisque intra positos feroces faciebant insultus. Vnde nunquam securitas, nunquam

^a om. P ^b fladrenses CV ^c discencientem P ^d suum CV ^e fugiens
with -s interlin. and perhaps erased P ^f -s interlin. A ^g nulli P ^h sternunt V
ⁱ cressentes P ^j dedicationem P ^k uictuabus CAP ^l altered from (?)
secus A ^m adduxerunt P ⁿ pasca CA ^o followed by erasure of one letter A
^p corrected from cause with -a interlin. in different hand A ^q sesesserat AP
^{r-r} uolente deo V ^s fossa P

too, and the count of Barre, and a great many Flemings.²³³ From Germany came a certain landgrave with the Germans, who persuaded the marquis, [who was] at odds with King Guy, to come to Acre.²³⁴ The Christians fell upon the neighbouring camp of the Gentiles, but they were harassed by the townspeople, and many were slaughtered on both sides, among whom Gerard de Ridefort, master of the Temple, also lay dead.²³⁵ When a certain German with his companions pursued a fleeing horse, suddenly a clamor arose because the besieged townspeople had gone out to plunder the baggage. Thereafter the arrangement of the battalions was thrown into disarray; the groups were scattered; there was no regard for the standards; the leaders themselves rushed headlong into flight.²³⁶

Recovering their boldness from this disturbance, the Turks struck down as many of our men as possible. But the Christians, growing from day to day, were very often gravely wounded by the Turks while they strove to make ditches around the city.²³⁷ While the Turks within Acre suffered from famine and offered the surrender of the city to the besiegers, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn came to their aid, having sent fifty galleys loaded with men, provisions, and arms, by which our galleys were captured and put to flight; and they carried off into the city by force a certain ship of ours loaded with provisions, and they hanged all whom they found in the ship around the walls on the day of the feast of All Saints.²³⁸

When Easter was approaching, the marquis, who had withdrawn to Tyre for the purpose of repairing his fleet, returned from Tyre with vast supplies and an abundance of men and arms and provisions.²³⁹ But the besieged, taking the loss of free movement by sea very heavily, advanced with their galleys to fight against the oncoming [Christians] in a naval battle. But, with God willing, victory fell to the Christians.²⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the Turks who beset the Christians outside filled our ditches with earth and made fierce assaults upon our men stationed within. For this reason there was never

²³³ *IP2*, I.xxix (p. 67); trans. Nicholson, p. 76. Philip of Dreux, bishop of Beauvais (1175–1207), and his brother Robert II, count of Dreux and Braine (1184–1218), were cousins of King Philip II of France. The others referred to here are Érard II, count of Brienne (1161–1191), and Henry I, count of Bar-le-Duc (1170–1191).

²³⁴ *IP2*, I.xxix (p. 68); trans. Nicholson, p. 77. Ludwig III, landgrave of Thuringia (1172–1190), was a member of the Hohenstaufen family on his mother's side, who was half-sister to the emperor.

²³⁵ *IP2*, I.xxix (p. 68); trans. Nicholson, p. 77.

²³⁶ *IP2*, I.xxix (pp. 70–1); trans. Nicholson, p. 79.

²³⁷ *IP2*, I.xxxi (p. 73); trans. Nicholson, pp. 80–1. This battle took place on 4 October 1189.

²³⁸ *IP2*, I.xxxiii (pp. 77–8); trans. Nicholson, pp. 85–6. 31 October 1189.

²³⁹ *IP2*, I.xxxiv (p. 79); trans. Nicholson, p. 86. Easter fell on 25 March 1190.

²⁴⁰ *IP2*, I.xxxiv (p. 79); trans. Nicholson, pp. 87–9.

requies dabatur, angebantur undique, nunc se obseruantes^a ab^b obsessis^b in urbe, nunc ab exteriori exercitu Salahadini^c continue eorum ceruicibus^d imminente, nunc et a parte maris galeis eorum sedentibus in insidiis. Tres turres ligneas nostri [fol. 19v] fecerant, quibus dum urbem acrius inpugnarent, oppidani deditionem offerunt, ita tamen ut ipsis abscedendi libertas et res suas asportandi non denegetur facultas. Nostris uero renuentibus^e ecce exercitus Turcorum exterior irruens infossata a tergo nostros inpugnant. Cumque se ab irruentibus defenderent, ignis hostilis machinas nostras succendit, qui^f nulla diligentia potuit extinguere. Sicque infelici casu triumphis^g spes excidit. Dum^h oppidani fame affligerentur,ⁱ equos^j suos et alterius generis bestias consumunt contra ritum mahumetice^k legis, seniores etiam christianos captiuos foras^l muros examines^m iaculabantur. Sic angustiatis aduenerunt tres naues onerarie et se subito in urbem precipitauerunt, ita ut naute paterentur naufragium. Salahadinusⁿ uniuersum exercitum omnium regnorum suorum congregauit, nostrosque per dies octo acrius inpugnauit, in Pentecosten, christicole uero dum utramque incursionem uiriliter sustinerent, plurimi Turcorum in fines patrios redeunt. Ibidem occubuit unus filiorum Salahadini ictu baliste, cuius obitus et ceptos insultus choibuit, et exercitum hostilem exterruit.^o Item dum oppidani fame affligerentur, succurrit eis soldanus, mittens eis .XXV. rates frugiferas, sed due maiores inter turrim muscarum illise sunt, et rupem^p quandam. Cum exercitus noster ocii languore torpesceret, uulgus tumultuans sine consilio principum et contra patriarche interdictum die sancti Iacobi ad castra hostilia audacter^q

^a -r- interlin. in different hand A ^{b-b} abobsessis A, ab ob cassis P ^c saladini AP
^d seruitibus AP ^e corrected from renuentis in different hand A ^{f-f} in mg. in different hand A ^g triumphans corrected messily to triumphadi in different hand V
^h um with d- in mg. in different hand V ⁱ followed by erasure of approx. one letter A ^j first two letters written over erasure A ^k -h- interlin. C, mahumecie V
^l corrected from fores in different hand A ^m examines C, exaniines AVP
ⁿ Saladinus AP ^o additional -r- interlin. in different hand V ^p inter rupem V
^q et audacter V

security, and respite was never given.²⁴¹ They were hemmed in on all sides, now observing themselves [pressed] from the besieged in the city, now from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's army on the outside continually threatening their necks, now also from the direction of the sea, with their galleys sitting in traps.²⁴² Our men had made three wooden towers; while they were attacking the city very fiercely, the townspeople offered to surrender, but in such a way that they might not be denied the freedom to depart and the ability to remove their things.²⁴³ With our men refusing—behold!—the outer army of the Turks, charging into the ditches, attacked our men from behind; and when they [the Christians] defended themselves against the attackers, enemy fire which could not be extinguished by any effort set our siege engines alight, and thus the hope of victory disappeared by [this] unhappy chance.²⁴⁴

While the townspeople were afflicted by famine they consumed their horses and other kinds of beasts, contrary to the custom of the law of Muḥammad.²⁴⁵ And they also hurled the older Christian prisoners lifeless outside the walls.²⁴⁶ And so, three cargo ships came to the [townspeople] in dire straits and suddenly threw themselves headlong into the city, so that the sailors suffered a shipwreck.²⁴⁷ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn assembled the entire army from all of his kingdoms and attacked our men very fiercely for eight days at Pentecost, but while the Christians manfully withstood each attack, a great many of the Turks went back to their homelands.²⁴⁸ There one of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's sons fell dead by a strike from a ballista. His death both hindered the attacks [that had] begun and struck the enemy army with terror.²⁴⁹ Likewise, while the townspeople were afflicted by famine, the sultan hastened to their aid, sending them twenty-five ships bearing fruit; but the two larger ones were dashed between the Tower of the Flies and a certain rock.²⁵⁰ When our army was becoming slothful with the listlessness of leisure, the common people, rising up without the counsel of the princes and against the patriarch's interdict, rushed forth rashly on St James's Day to the enemy camp without a commander, without a leader, without fixed standards, addicted to spoils rather than to battles.²⁵¹ The Gentiles, having seen the contingents of those advancing, withdrew intentionally for a short

²⁴¹ *IP2*, I.xxxv (p. 83); trans. Nicholson, pp. 89–90.

²⁴² *IP2*, I.xxxv (pp. 83–4); trans. Nicholson, p. 90.

²⁴³ *IP2*, I.xxxvi (pp. 84–5); trans. Nicholson, pp. 90–1.

²⁴⁴ *IP2*, I.xxxvi (p. 85); trans. Nicholson, p. 91.

²⁴⁵ *IP2*, I.xxxvii (pp. 85–6); trans. Nicholson, pp. 91–2.

²⁴⁶ *IP2*, I.xxxvii (p. 86); trans. Nicholson, p. 92.

²⁴⁷ *IP2*, I.xxxvii (p. 86); trans. Nicholson, p. 92.

²⁴⁸ *IP2*, I.xxxviii (pp. 86–8); trans. Nicholson, pp. 92–3. 19 May 1190.

²⁴⁹ *IP2*, I.xxxviii (p. 88); trans. Nicholson, p. 93.

²⁵⁰ *IP2*, I.xxxviii (p. 88); trans. Nicholson, p. 94.

²⁵¹ *IP2*, I.xl (pp. 89–90); trans. Nicholson, pp. 94–5. 25 July 1190.

prorumpit, sine duce, sine ductore,^a sine signis certis, magis spoliis indulgens quam preliis. Gentiles uisis prodentium^b turmis de industria^c paulisper cedunt sarcinis non asportatis, nec tentoriis. Turci uero cum nepote soldani Thecahadino^d de latibus irruentes plebem incaute^e dispersam^e et stupidam facili triumpho prosternunt, scilicet circiter .V. milia quingentos. Huic agmini fere dissipato, militum subuenit magister Radulfus de Alta Ripa archidiaconus Colecestrie qui postmodum cum plurima gessisset insignia in eadem obsidione fine felici diem clausit [fol. 20r] extremum.^f

Nostris diuturna tribulatione decoctis adduxit dominus ab extremis finibus terre fortes auxiliarios, uiros insignes, potentes in prelio, scilicet archiepiscopos, episcopos, duces, comites, marchiones, barones, milites et aliam multitudinem de diuersis finibus terrarum quorum summa non cadit in numerum. Comes Henricus de Campania exercitui^g nostro proficitur ante aduentum regis Philippi, et regis Ricardi^h quorum nepos erat, qui etiam postmodum in regem sublimatus est. Dux Suauiie filius Fredericiⁱ cum Alemannis instinctu marchisii Achon ueniens, seminarium fuit dissensionis,^j cuius^k auxilio marchisus^k de Monte Ferrato aspirauit ad regnum, eo quod coniugem Emfridi^l rapuerat, cui iure successionis deuoluebatur hereditas terre illius. Miraculosa quedam tempore obsidionis^m Achon contingebant.ⁿ Petraria quedam oppidanorum ex uiolentia sui omnis machinas nostras comminuit, et hominem ex nostris quem percusserat non lesit. Telum ab interiorius in quendam ex nostris emissum omnem armaturam eius penetrauit, sed scedulam nomen dei continentem et in pectore eius dependentem penetrare non potuit.

^a corrected from doctore V ^b prodeunseum P ^c industrias with -s expunctuated V ^d -n- interlin. A ^{e-e} dispersam incaute marked for transposition P ^f exttemum with second -t- expunctuated and -r- interlin. A ^g exercitui CP ^h ricardus with -us expunctuated V ⁱ federici altered from federicius C, federitrici with -it- expunctuated A ^j dissencionis P ^{k-k} cuius marchisus auxilio marked for transposition with double virgules C ^l emfridii P ^m corrected from obsidiones C ⁿ contingebat P

time, having removed neither their belongings nor their tents. Indeed, the Turks, rushing forth from their hiding places with Taqī al-Dīn, the nephew of the sultan, struck down the common people, stupid and carelessly scattered about—around 5,500 [of them], that is—in an easy triumph.²⁵² Master Ralph of Hauterive, archdeacon of Colchester, came to the aid of this nearly-routed army. Shortly after he had done many notable things at that same siege [of Acre], he closed his final day with a fine end.²⁵³

When our men had wasted away through long distress, from the ends of the earth the Lord led strong reinforcements, outstanding men mighty in battle, namely archbishops, bishops, dukes, counts, marquises, barons, knights, and a second multitude from the diverse regions of the earth, whose sum cannot be counted.²⁵⁴ Count Henry of Champagne was put in charge of our army before the coming of King Philip and King Richard (he was the nephew of [both of] them—he was also elevated to king [of Jerusalem] shortly after).²⁵⁵ The Duke of Swabia, the son of Frederick, coming to Acre with the Germans at the instigation of the marquis, was the seedbed of dissension, by whose help the marquis of Montferrat aspired to the kingdom, because he had seized the wife of Humphrey, to whom the inheritance of that land fell by the law of succession.²⁵⁶

Certain miraculous things happened at the time of the siege of Acre.²⁵⁷ A certain petrary of the townspeople shattered by its violence all of our siege engines [but] did not harm one of our men whom it had struck.²⁵⁸ A spear thrown from within [the city] into [another] one of our men pierced all his armour, but it was not able to puncture a small piece of paper containing the name of God and hanging on his breast.²⁵⁹

²⁵² *IP2*, I.xl (pp. 90–1); trans. Nicholson, pp. 95–6.

²⁵³ *IP2*, I.xl (p. 91); trans. Nicholson, p. 96.

²⁵⁴ *IP2*, I.xlii (pp. 92–3); trans. Nicholson, pp. 97–9.

²⁵⁵ *IP2*, I.xliii (p. 94); trans. Nicholson, p. 99. Henry II, count of Champagne (1181–1197) and, following the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat, ruler of Jerusalem (1192–1197), was nephew to both King Richard I of England and King Philip II of France. For discussion of the continuator's claim that Henry was elected king of Jerusalem, see Introduction, pp. 64–6.

²⁵⁶ *IP2*, I.xliv–xlv (pp. 94–7); trans. Nicholson, p. 100–1. Isabella († 1205) was the youngest child of King Amalric and half-sister to Queen Sibylla and King Baldwin IV. Her marriage to her first husband, Humphrey IV, lord of Toron (1179–1198), was annulled so that she could marry Conrad of Montferrat on 24 November 1190. She was married another two times after Conrad's assassination: to Henry of Champagne on 5 May 1192, and then to Aimery of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem (r. 1198–1205) and Cyprus (r. 1196–1205). She was crowned queen of Jerusalem and Cyprus with her fourth husband in the spring of 1198.

²⁵⁷ *IP2*, I.xlvii (p. 97); trans. Nicholson, p. 103.

²⁵⁸ *IP2*, I.xlvii (p. 98); trans. Nicholson, p. 103.

²⁵⁹ *IP2*, I.xlviii (p. 99); trans. Nicholson, p. 104.

Miles inermis,^a requisitis nature uix^b peractis, Turcum^c armatum se lancea inpetentem lapide prostrauit. Iuo^d de Ueteri Ponte decem sociis comitatus uersus Tyrum cum tribus nautis in parua naui nauigans, octoginta piratas occidit bipenni.^e Cuiusdam admiralii genitalia igne greco combusta sunt quo machinas nostras incendi proposuerat. Quidam Turcus ignem^f grecum natando deferens, a nostris rete capitur. Turcus telo^g in inguine percussus interiit, qui crucem dominicam commingere^h disposuit.ⁱ Inter Turcos et nostros fit nauale prelium, et dum nostri turribus^j et machinis affixis galeis turrem muscarum comprehendere^k nituntur, machine nostre succendunt. Oppidani igne greco cum amissione tamen suorum arietem archiepiscopi de Besenzun^l succendunt. Classis .XV. nauium ex Alexandria^m oppidanis mittitur in auxilium, [fol. 20v] sed multi pereunt. Nostris disponentibus congregari cum Salahadinoⁿ archiepiscopo Baldewino Cantuariensi exercitum^o ducente^p Salahadinus^q cum^r suis^s fugit^s ad montana. Cum quidam^t nostrorum uersus Caiphas^u pro uictualibus irent et redirent a Turcis grauiter infestantur,^v sed infestando succumbunt, irruente in eos Gaufrido de Liziniaco^w fratre regis Guidonis cum quinque^x militibus electis super pontem quem preoccupauerant. Marchisus ut regno potiretur, heredem regni uxorem scilicet Remfredi^y adhuc uiuentis dolose desponsauit. Cumque uoti esset compos cum coniuge sua Tyrum^z regreditur,^{aa} promittens sub^{bb} iure iurando se uictualium copiam exercitui exhibiturum.^{cc} Sed pactionis immemor nulla exercitui fame periclitanti alimenta transmitters^{dd} uoluit.

^a in hermis CAP ^b nix A ^c corrected from tureum A ^d Yvo A, Yuo P
^e bibenni V ^f corrected from ignei A ^g -l- interlin. A ^h immingere P
ⁱ corrected from proposuit with pro- expunctuated and dis- interlin. V ^j -i- inserted by different hand A ^k coprehendere C ^l bezezuni A, bezezun run together with following word but separated by later mark P ^m alexandriam AP, corrected from alexandriam or alexandrina V ⁿ saladino AP ^o om. V ^p altered to dicente through erasure V ^q saladinus AP ^r interlin. in different hand A
^{s-s} fugit suis marked for transposition with double virgules C ^t followed by erasure of approx. one letter A ^u chaiphas A, cayphas P ^v corrected from (?) infestantur V ^w lizinaco P ^x .v. P ^y remfredii P ^z tirum C ^{aa} proregreditur with pro- expunctuated and -re- crossed out V ^{bb} se sub P ^{cc} exhibiturum CAV
^{dd} added in mg. in different hand A

An unarmed knight, having barely carried out the needs of nature, struck down with a stone an armed Turk rushing upon him with a spear.²⁶⁰ Ivo de Vieuxpont, accompanied by ten allies [and] sailing towards Tyre with three sailors in a small two-sailed ship, killed eighty pirates.²⁶¹ The genitals of a certain emir were burned up by the Greek fire with which he had planned to set fire to our siege engines.²⁶² A certain Turk, carrying Greek fire by swimming, was captured by our men in a net.²⁶³ A Turk who arranged to urinate on the Lord's Cross perished, struck by an arrow in the groin.²⁶⁴

There was a naval battle between the Turks and our men; and while our men were striving to seize the Tower of the Flies with towers and siege engines affixed to galleys, our engines were set alight.²⁶⁵ The townspeople set alight with Greek fire the [battering] ram of the archbishop of Besançon (with loss of their own men, however).²⁶⁶ A fleet of fifteen ships was sent to the aid of the townspeople from Alexandria, but many men died.²⁶⁷ While our men were preparing to join battle with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, with Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury as their commander, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn fled with his men to the hills.²⁶⁸ When some of our men went towards Haifa for provisions and returned, they were harassed heavily by the Turks, but they succumbed to the attack, with Geoffrey of Lusignan, the brother of King Guy, charging them with five chosen knights over a bridge which they had seized.²⁶⁹

The marquis deceitfully married the heir to the kingdom (that is, the wife of Humphrey [of Toron], who was still alive) so that he might obtain the kingdom.²⁷⁰ And since he had fulfilled his desire, he returned to Tyre with his spouse, promising under oath that he would provide an abundance of provisions to the army. But forgetful of the agreement, he wished to send no food to the army at risk of famine.²⁷¹

²⁶⁰ *IP2*, I.xlix (p. 100); trans. Nicholson, p. 105.

²⁶¹ *IP2*, I.liii (p. 104); trans. Nicholson, p. 108.

²⁶² *IP2*, I.liv (p. 105); trans. Nicholson, p. 109.

²⁶³ *IP2*, I.lv (p. 105); trans. Nicholson, p. 109.

²⁶⁴ *IP2*, I.lvi (p. 107); trans. Nicholson, p. 110.

²⁶⁵ *IP2*, I.lviii (p. 109); trans. Nicholson, p. 113.

²⁶⁶ *IP2*, I.lvi (p. 111); trans. Nicholson, p. 115. The archbishop of Besançon was Thierry II de Montfaucon (1180–1191).

²⁶⁷ *IP2*, I.lx (p. 114); trans. Nicholson, p. 117.

²⁶⁸ *IP2*, I.lxi (p. 115); trans. Nicholson, p. 118. Baldwin, former Cistercian abbot of Forde (1170–1180) and bishop of Worcester (1180–1184), now archbishop of Canterbury (1184–1190), arrived at Acre on 12 October 1190.

²⁶⁹ *IP2*, I.lxii (pp. 117–19); trans. Nicholson, pp. 119–21.

²⁷⁰ *IP2*, I.lxiii (p. 119); trans. Nicholson, p. 121. The marriage took place on 24 November 1190.

²⁷¹ *IP2*, I.lxiii–lxiv (p. 122–23); trans. Nicholson, p. 125.

Baldewinus archiepiscopus uidens et audiens exercitum^a odio dissolutum^b tabernis et scortis et ludis talorum insistere, anxius est spiritus^c eius^c usque ad tedium uite, estuque febrili^d fatiscens,^e ibidem obdormiuit in domino. Interea dire famis inedia^f exercitus noster continue cruciabatur. Nam modii tritici^g mensura quam quis facile^h portaret sub ascella centum aureis uendebatur. Gallina quoque solidis duodecim, ouum sex denariis.ⁱ Quidam fame pereuntes cadauera equorum cum intestinis deuorabant.^j Intestina equi uendebantur solidis .X. Capud cum intestinis uorabant. Equus^k pluris uendebatur mortuus quam uiuus. Famelici ossa a canibus corrosa rodebant,^l et immunda queque comedebant. Plerumque circa furnum fiebant ire, rixe, contentiones, nonnunquam^m pugne, alii concurrebant ad clibanumⁿ clamantes: 'Ecce moneta! Ecce quantum uis panis precium dum modo panis copia detur!' Occulte^o etiam comedebat^p qui aliquam escam habuit. Deliciosi etiam herbas^q pro deliciis edebant. Nobiles uiri cum non haberent unde uiuerent furabantur. Vnde multi pro acerbitate famis apostatabant. Duo socii .XIII. fabas denario emunt, famelici in quadragesima^r carnes comedebant. Numquam dormitauit marchisi^s maledictio,^t qui tante egestatis fuerat occasio. Preterea^u ex nimia inundatione imbrium quedam uehemens [fol. 21r] excreuit in hominibus infirmitas, ut more limphatico toto corpore distenderentur. Vnde imbribus et fame populus deperibat.^v Exortacione^w tandem episcopi Saresberiensis^x et aliorum diuites collectam fecerunt per quam pauperes saturarentur. Post unius nauicule aduentum hodie emebatur .IIII. aureis, quod heri pro centum. Quidam Pisanus uenditor annone, uolens reseruare annonam^y in posterum ut carius uenderet,

^{a-a} added in mg. in different hand A ^b dissolutum with second -lu- expunctuated C ^{c-c} repeated, with second occurrence crossed out V ^d -r- interlin. A ^e corrected from (?) fastiscens P ^f media AP ^g triticii P ^h facere facile with facere expunctuated A, -ci- interlin. in different hand P ⁱ corrected from denariis with -o- expunctuated and -i- interlin. in different hand A ^j deuorabant with second -u- expunctuated A ^k equus P ^l corrected from radebant A ^m non added in mg. in different hand A ⁿ clibanum with -na- expunctuated C ^o corrected from Occulta A ^p comedebant P ^q h- interlin. C ^r quatragesima A ^s marchisii P ^t maledicto AP ^u propterea P ^v corrected from deperibati A ^w Ex hortacione P ^x -s- interlin. C, sareberiensis A, sareberiensis P ^y annonam A

Seeing and hearing that the army, made dissolute by leisure, was pursuing taverns and prostitutes and games of dice, Archbishop Baldwin's spirit was troubled to the point of weariness of life, and growing weak with a feverish heat, he fell asleep there in the Lord.²⁷²

Meanwhile, our army was continuously tortured by the starvation of dire famine.²⁷³ For the measure of a *modius* of wheat, which anybody could easily carry under his arm, was sold for one hundred gold coins, a hen for twelve shillings, an egg for sixpence.²⁷⁴ Some, perishing by famine, devoured the bodies of their horses with the intestines. The intestines of a horse were sold for ten shillings; they devoured the head with the intestines. A dead horse was sold for more than a live one.²⁷⁵ The hungry gnawed bones worn away by dogs and ate all [kinds of] filthy things. Often around the bakery there were provocations, quarrels, arguments, sometimes fights. Some assembled at the oven, shouting: 'Here is money! Here is however much you want for the bread as long as a supply of bread is given!'²⁷⁶ Also, he who had any food ate [it] secretly.²⁷⁷ The delicate even ate grass as a delicacy.²⁷⁸ The nobles, since they had nothing which they might live on, stole; whence many apostatised because of the severity of the famine.²⁷⁹ Two friends bought thirteen beans for a penny.²⁸⁰ The hungry ate meat during Lent.²⁸¹ Abuse for the marquis, who had been the cause of such great need, never ceased.²⁸² In addition, due to an excessive downpour of rain, a certain violent sickness grew in the men, so that they were distended in their entire bodies in a frenzied manner: whence the people perished by showers and famine.²⁸³ Finally, at the urging of the bishop of Salisbury and others, the wealthy made a contribution through which the poor were sated.²⁸⁴ After the arrival of one small ship, what was yesterday bought for one hundred gold coins was today bought for four.²⁸⁵ When a certain Pisan vendor of wheat wanted to hold on to his

²⁷² *IP2*, I.lxv (pp. 123–4); trans. Nicholson, p. 126. Baldwin died on 19 November 1190.

²⁷³ *IP2*, I.lxvi (p. 124); trans. Nicholson, p. 126.

²⁷⁴ *IP2*, I.lxvi (p. 125); trans. Nicholson, p. 127.

²⁷⁵ *IP2*, I.lxvii (pp. 125–6); trans. Nicholson, pp. 127–8.

²⁷⁶ *IP2*, I.lxxi–lxxii (pp. 128–9); trans. Nicholson, p. 130.

²⁷⁷ *IP2*, I.lxviii (p. 126); trans. Nicholson, p. 128.

²⁷⁸ *IP2*, I.lxix (p. 127); trans. Nicholson, p. 129.

²⁷⁹ *IP2*, I.lxxiii–lxxiv (pp. 130–1); trans. Nicholson, pp. 131–2.

²⁸⁰ *IP2*, I.lxxv (p. 132); trans. Nicholson, p. 132.

²⁸¹ *IP2*, I.lxxvii (p. 133); trans. Nicholson, p. 134.

²⁸² *IP2*, I.lxxvi (p. 133); trans. Nicholson, p. 134.

²⁸³ *IP2*, I.lxx (p. 127); trans. Nicholson, p. 129.

²⁸⁴ *IP2*, I.lxxviii (p. 134); trans. Nicholson, p. 135. Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury (1189–1193) and later archbishop of Canterbury (1193–1205), had arrived at Acre on 12 October 1190.

²⁸⁵ *IP2*, I.lxxix (p. 136); trans. Nicholson, p. 136.

contigit ut domum cum^a annona ignis succenderet. Omnes ex tunc certatim escas largiuntur^b egentibus. Post Pascha^c anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo centesimo nonagesimo primo, rex Francie Philippus applicuit apud Achon, et non multo post scilicet circa Pentecosten, uenit rex Anglorum Ricardus, quorum seriem^d itineris et que in itinere gesserint,^e seu qualiter Achon ceperint et quanta prelia in terra illa contra Salahadinum commiserint,^f seu ex qua occasione rex Philippus repatriaauerit, si quis plenius^g nosse desiderat, legat librum quem dominus prior sancte Trinitatis Londoniis ex gallica lingua in latinum tam eleganti quam ueraci^h stilo transferri fecit.

^a om. V ^b -r- interlin. in different hand A ^c pasca VP ^d ceriem P
^e gesserunt P ^f commiserunt P ^g -l- interlin. in different hand A ^h verati
followed by unclear interlin. addition resembling -ci, or perhaps -ca A, veraci followed
by similar interlin. addition P

wheat for the future, so that he might sell it at a higher price, it happened that fire burned down his house with the wheat.²⁸⁶ From that point on, all eagerly granted food to the needy.²⁸⁷

After Easter in the year 1191 from the Incarnation of the Lord, King Philip of France landed at Acre, and not long after (that is to say, around Pentecost) came King Richard of the English: if anyone desires to know more about the course of their journey, and what they did on the journey, or how they captured Acre, and what great battles they fought in that land against Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, or for what reason King Philip returned home, let him read the book that the lord prior of Holy Trinity, London had translated from the French tongue into Latin in a style as elegant as [it is] truthful.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ *IP2*, I.lxxx (p. 136); trans. Nicholson, pp. 136–7.

²⁸⁷ *IP2*, I.lxxxi (p. 137); trans. Nicholson, p. 137.

²⁸⁸ *IP2*, II.i (p. 138); trans. Nicholson, p. 139. Note that *transferri fecit* literally means ‘made to be translated’ (i.e. ‘had translated [by someone else]’). On Richard de Templo and the continuator’s use of *IP2*, see Introduction, pp. 63–7, 78–9, 81.

XXVIII *Epistola Frederici imperatoris ad Salahadinum^a*

Fredericus dei gratia Romanorum imperator et semper augustus et hostium imperii magnificus triumphator, Salahadino presidi^b Saracenorum^c quondam illustri, exemplo Pharaonis fugere Israhelem.^d Deuotionis^e tue literas multis retro temporibus ad nos^f destinatas super arduis negotiis, tibi quidem si fides subfuisset profuturis,^g prout maiestatis^h nostre decuit magnificentiam suscepimus, et epistolarum alloquiis magnitudini tue consulere dignum duximus. Nunc uero quia terram sanctam prophanastiⁱ cui eterni regis imperamus imperio, in preside^j Iudee, Samarie, Palestinorum, in tanti sceleris presumptuosam et plectibilem audaciam, debita animaduersione decernere^k imperialis officii sollicitudo^l nos^m admonet. Quamobrem nisi occupatam terram et omnia restituas, [fol. 21v] adiunctaⁿ satisfactione sacris constitucionibus pro tam nephariis excessibus taxata, ne^o minime^o legitimum uideamur querere bellum, a capite^p kalendarum Nouembrium euoluto anni spacio, terminum prefigimus ad experiendam belli fortunam in campo Taphneos^q in uirtute mirifice crucis et in nomine ueri Ioseph. Vix enim credere possumus hoc te latere, quod ex^r scriptis^r ueterum^s et in hystoriis antiquis nostri temporis redolet. Numquid^t scire dissimulas ambas Ethiopias, Mauritaniam, Persiam, Siriam,^u Parthiam, ubi a Parthis^v Crassi nostri dictatoris fata^w sunt prematurata, Iudeam, Samariam, Maritimam, Arabiam, Caldeam, ipsam quoque Egiptum,^x ubi proh dolor

^a third -a- interlin. C ^b presidii P ^c sarracenorum V ^d israelem AP
^e first -o- interlin. by different hand A ^f dnos with d- expunctuated V
^g pro futuris P ^h magestatis CA, magestas P ⁱ -na- interlin. by different hand A
^j presidee P ^k discernere P ^l solitudo AP ^m nec P ⁿ iuncta AP
^{o-o} neminime marked for separation A, neminime P ^p acapite A, acapita P
^q tahtneos C, thaneos AP ^{r-r} excriptis AP ^s ueteris P ^t Nunquit C, Nunquid AP
^u syriam V, sciriam P ^v parcis P ^w facta with -c- expunctuated V, facta P ^x egyptum P

XXVIII Letter of the emperor Frederick to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn²⁸⁹

Frederick, by the grace of God emperor of the Romans and forever Augustus and magnificent vanquisher of the enemies of the Empire, to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, formerly distinguished leader of the Saracens—flee from Israel, following the example of Pharaoh.

We received Your Devotion's letter that was addressed to us some time ago (as behooved the magnificence of Our Majesty) concerning serious matters that would indeed have been advantageous to you if indeed your word had been credible, and we deemed it worthy to reflect upon what Your Greatness had said in the letter. But now, because you have profaned the Holy Land, over which we rule as the protector of Judea, Samaria, and Palestine by the order of the eternal King, the responsibility of the imperial office urges us to judge with due attention the presumptuous and punishable boldness of such great wickedness. For this reason, unless you restore the land you have occupied and everything [in it], having added reparation for such nefarious excesses [as] determined by sacred ordinances, we are fixing a date one year from 1 November (so that we might not seem to be demanding a war in the least legitimate way) on which the fortune of war is to be tested in the power of the marvellous Cross and in the name of the true Joseph on the field of Tanis.²⁹⁰

For we can hardly believe that what is redolent of our time in the writings of the ancients and in histories of old, lies hidden from you. Surely you do not pretend not to know both Ethiopias, Mauritania, Persia, Syria, Parthia—where the fate of our dictator Crassus was hastened prematurely by the Parthians—Judea, Samaria, Arabia Maritima, Chaldea, and also

²⁸⁹ *IP2*, I.xviii (pp. 35–6); trans. Nicholson, pp. 49–51.

²⁹⁰ In a derogatory pun on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's name (Yūsuf), the writer of the letter implies that the 'true Joseph' is Christ.

ciuis^a Romanus Antonius, uir insignis uirtute preditus, citra nitorem temperantie et secus quam deceret militem a tanto culmine rerum emissum, minus sobriis^b cleopatre^c inseruiebat^d amoribus. Numquid etiam scire dissimulas, Armeriam et innumerabiles alias terras nostre ditioni subiectas. Norunt hec reges qui cruore gladii Romani sunt crebrius inebriati. Et tu quidem in ipsa rerum experientia deo auctore intelliges, quid^e nostre uictrices aquile, quid cohortes^f diuersarum nationum, quid furor Teuthonicus etiam in pace arma capescens, quid capud indomitum Reni, quid iuuentus que nunquam fugam^g nouit,^g quid procerus Bauarus, quid Sueuus astutus,^h quid Franconia circumspecta,ⁱ quid in gladio ludens Saxonia, quid Turingia, quid Westfalia, quid agilis Brebantia,^j quid nescia pacis Letaringia, quid inquieta Burgundia, quid Alpini salices, quid Spisania in armento preuolans,^k quid Boemia ulcro^l mori gaudens, quid Bolenia suis feris ferior, quid Austria, quid Stricia, quid Bugrensa,^m quid partesⁿ Illirice, quid Leonardia, quid Tuschia,^o quid Ancarictana^p Marcia, quid Venetus^q proretha, quid Spisanus nauclerus. Denique qualiter dextera nostra quam senio arguis effectam^r gladios^s uibrare didicerit,^t dies illa [fol. 22r] plena leticie^u et iocunditatis et reuerentie triumpho Christi prefixa te docebit.

Huic mandato imperatoris responsoriam etiam Salahadini epistolam libello nostro duximus inserendam, nam superba^v tyranni^v fiducia quam ad resistendum conceperat, ex ipsius tenore clarescit. Eam quidem in ipsa simplicitate uerborum in qua fuerat conscripta recitando proponimus nichil penitus immutantes.

^a cuius CAVP ^b sobriiis with first -i- expunctuated V ^c deopatre A, cleopate V, deo patre P ^d inseuiebat AP ^e quod P ^f choortes V ^{g-g} nouit fugam V ^h astatutus with -ta- expunctuated V ⁱ third -c- interlin. V ^j brebrantia with first -r- interlin. and second expunctuated C ^k corrected from preuolens C ^l ulcro P ^m Bugrensa with -i- expunctuated A ⁿ par written over erasure V ^o thuschia V ^p ancgrictana P ^q uenetus CAVP ^r effetam C ^s corrected from gladiis A, gladiis P ^t dedicerit AP ^u letitia A, leticia P ^{v-v} partially written over erasure C

Egypt itself, where—oh, the grief!—the Roman citizen Antony, a remarkable man endowed with virtue, without regard for the excellence of self-control and contrary to what befits a soldier sent from such a great height of affairs, served the passions of Cleopatra less than soberly. Surely you do not also pretend not to know that Armenia and innumerable other lands are subject to our dominion? The kings who have so frequently been made drunk by the blood of the Roman sword know this. And you, too, through the same experience of things by God's command, will understand what [can be done by] our victorious eagles; the companies of various nations; Teutonic fury, taking up arms even in peace; the indomitable head of the Rhine; youth which has never known flight; noble Bavaria; crafty Swabia; prudent Franconia; Saxony, sporting with the sword; Thuringia; Westphalia; nimble Brabant; Lotharingia, ignorant of peace; restless Burgundy; Alpine [contingents];²⁹¹ [Frisia], flying ahead in cattle;²⁹² Bohemia, rejoicing voluntarily to die; [Bologna], fiercer than its own wild beasts; Austria; Styria; [Bulgaria];²⁹³ the regions of Illyria; Lombardy; Tuscany; the March of [Ancona];²⁹⁴ the Venetian, the ship's helmsman; the Pisan, the ship's master. Finally, that appointed day—full of rejoicing and cheer and reverence through Christ's triumph—will teach you how our right hand, which you allege to be worn out with old age, has learned how to brandish swords.

We have also deemed Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's reply to this command of the emperor worthy of inclusion in our little book, for the proud confidence of the tyrant, which he had conceived to resist, is clear from its contents. Indeed, we offer it by reciting it in the very simplicity of words in which it was written down, changing nothing at all.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ The reading *Alpini salices* in the MSS literally means 'Alpine willows'. MSS of other texts that preserve this letter offer the readings *Alpium acies* ('contingents of the Alps') and *Alpini salaces* ('the lustful men of the Alps'). Evidently there has been some corruption in the process of transmission: see Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Der Brief Kaiser Friedrichs I. an Saladin vom Jahre 1188', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, vol. 14 (1958), pp. 488–94, here pp. 490–91; reprinted in Mayer, *Kreuzzüge und lateinischer Osten* (London, 1983).

²⁹² The MSS read *Spisania*, which is unintelligible. Certain MSS of *IP1* offer *Frisania* and *Frisonia* instead: see *IP1*, p. 281.

²⁹³ *Bugrensa* in the MSS. Mayer in *IP1*, p. 281, n. 5 suggests this may be an error for 'Bulgarien' (Bulgaria).

²⁹⁴ *Ancarictana Marcia* in the MSS, though MS. P has the unintelligible *ancgrictana*.

²⁹⁵ *IP2*, I.xviii (p. 37); trans. Nicholson, p. 51.

XXIX *Epistola Salahadini^a ad Fredericum imperatorem*

Illi^b regi sincero amico, magno, excelso Frederico regi Alemannie, in nomine dei miserentis, per gratiam dei unius, potentis,^c exsuperantis, uictoris, perhennis, cuius regni non est finis. Grates ei agimus perhennes,^d cuius gratia super totum mundum. Deprecamur^e eum ut infundat orationem suam super prophetas suos,^f et maxime super instructorem nostram nuncium suum Mahumetum prophetam, quem misit pro recte legis^g correctione, quam faciet apparere super cunctas^h leges. Attamen notum regi sincero, potenti, magno, amico, amicabili regi Alemannie quod quidam homo Henricus nomine uenit ad nos dicens se nuncium uestrum esse, et detulit nobis quandam cartam quam dixit esse uestram. Nos fecimus legi cartam et audiuius eumⁱ uiua uoce loquentem, et uerbis/ que ore dixit uerbis respondimus, sed hoc est responsum carte. Quod si computatis eos qui uobiscum concordant ueniendi super nos et eos nominatis et dicitis: 'Rex talis terre, et rex alterius terre, et comes talis et comes talis, et tales archiepiscopi et marchiones et milites.' Et si nos uellemus enuntiare eos qui sunt in nostro seruicio, et qui sunt^k intendentes nostro precepto, et promti nostro sermoni, et qui dimicarent coram manibus^l nostris non posset hoc in scriptis redigi. Et si^m christianorum computatis nomina, Sarracenorum sunt plura, et plura abundantiusⁿ quam christianorum. Et si inter nos et eos qui nominastis christianos mare est, inter Sarracenos qui non possunt estimari^o [fol. 22v] non est mare inter eos et nos, nec ullum^p impedimentum ueniendi ad nos, et nobiscum sunt Bedewini quos si opponeremus inimicis nostris sufficerent, et Turkemanni, quos si effunderemus^q super inimicos nostros destruerent^r eos, et rustici nostri qui dimicarent strenue si iuberemus contra gentes que uenture super terram nostram, et ditarentur de eis et exterminarent eas. Et quomodo? Nos habemus nobiscum soldanos bellicosos per quos terram apertam habemus et adquisitam^s et expugnatos inimicos. Et hii et omnes reges paganismi^t non tardabunt cum eos summonuerimus, nec morabuntur cum eos uocauerimus. Et uos cum congregati fueritis sicut carta uestra dicit, et ducetis infinitam multitudinem sicut nuncius uester narrat, obuiabimus uobis per potentiam dei,^u nec sufficit nobis terra ista que est in maritima, sed transibimus uoluntate^v dei et obtinebimus terras uestras uniuersas fortitudine dei. Nam si ueneritis cum toto posse uestro, uenietis et presentes eritis cum omni gente uestra, et scimus quod in terra uestra nullus remanebit, qui se defendere possit, nec terram tueri. Et quando deus uictoriam nobis sua fortitudine de uobis donauerit, nichil amplius erit quam ut terras uestras libere capiamus fortitudine sua et uoluntate. Adunatio enim legis christianorum

^a saladini P ^b Illi C ^c potentens (with second -te- expunctuated) A ^d altered to perhennis A, perhennis P ^e corrected from Q[u]eprecamur P ^f corrected from suas A ^g-s added above the line C ^hcuntas CAP ⁱ corrected from eim A ^j-s added by different hand A ^k interlin. A ^l oculis (crossed out) manibus V ^m interlin. A ⁿ habundancius VP ^o corrected from estimare P ^p nullum P ^q effunderemus AP ^r destuerent (sic) with -u- interlin. P ^s ad qui sitam P ^t-ga- interlin. A ^upreceded by underlined nobis A ^vuoluntatem AP

XXIX *Letter of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to the emperor Frederick*²⁹⁶

To that king, sincere, kind, great, exalted, Frederick the king of Alemannia, in the name of the merciful God, by the grace of the one, powerful, conquering, victorious, eternal God, whose kingdom has no end. We give eternal thanks to him, whose grace is above the whole world. We beg him to pour out his prayer upon his prophets, and above all upon our instructor, his messenger, the prophet Muḥammad, whom he sent for the correction of the right law, which he will make visible above all laws.

Nevertheless, [let it be] known to the sincere, powerful, great, kind, and friendly king of Alemannia that a certain man, Heinrich by name, came to us saying that he was your messenger, and he brought to us a certain letter, which he said was yours. We had the letter read aloud, and we heard him speaking in his own voice, and we responded with words to the words that he spoke with his own mouth: but this is our response to the letter. And if you tally up those who agree to come with you against us, and you name them and say: ‘The king of such a land, and the king of another land, and such a count, and such archbishops, and marquises and knights’; and if we wish to announce those who are in our service, and who are obedient to our command, and ready at our word, and who fight before our hands—this cannot be rendered in writing. And if you tally up the names of the Christians, [those of] the Saracens are far more abundant than [those of] the Christians. And if the sea is between us and those whom you named Christians, there is no sea between us and the Saracens, who cannot be estimated, nor is there any obstacle to their coming to us; and with us are the Bedouin, who would suffice if we set them against our enemies; and the Turkmens, who would destroy our enemies if we sent them out against them; and our peasants, who would fight strenuously if we ordered them against the peoples who are to come against our land, and would make themselves rich from them, and exterminate them.

And how? With us we have warlike sultans, through whom we have opened and acquired land, and conquered enemies; and all these kings of Pagandom will not tarry when we have summoned them, nor will they delay when we have called them. And when you have assembled, just as your letter says, and you lead [forth] your infinite multitude, just as your messenger tells [us], we shall come to meet you through the power of God; and this land which is on the coast is not enough for [us], but we shall pass over by the will of God and obtain all your lands through the strength of God. For if you come, you will come with all your might, and you will be present with all your people, and we know that nobody who can defend himself or protect the land will remain in your land. And when God has given us victory over

²⁹⁶ *IP2*, I.xviii (pp. 37–40); trans. Nicholson, pp. 51–4.

bis uenit super nos, in Babilone una uice apud Damiatam, et altera apud Alexandriam et erat in maritima terre^a Ierusalem, et in manu christianorum, et in terra Damasci, et in terra Sarracenorum, in singulis castellis singuli erant domini sibi proficientes. Nostis qualiter christiani utraque uice redierunt et ad qualem exitum^b uenerunt. Et hee nostre gentes referte sunt cum regionibus suis, et deus adunauit nobis regiones affluentius et coadunauit^c eas longe lateque in potestate nostra, et Babiloniam^d cum pertinentiis suis, et terram^e Damasci, et maritimam Ierusalem, et terram Gesyre^f et castella sua, et terram^g Roasie cum pertinentiis suis, et regionem Indie cum pertinentiis suis. **[fol. 23r]** Et per gratiam dei hoc totum in manibus nostris^h est, et residuum regnum Sarracenorum nostroⁱ paret imperio. Nam si mandaremus excellentissimis^j regibus Sarracenorum, non retraherent se a nobis.^k Et si summoneremus^l calephum de Baldach quem deus saluet ueniendi ad nos, de sede excelsi imperii sui assurgeret,^m et ueniret in auxilium excellentie nostre. Et nos optinuimus per uirtutem dei et potentiam Ierusalem et terram eius, et remanent in manibus christianorum, Tyrus, Tripolis,ⁿ et Antiochia, et de hiis non est aliud nisi ut occupentur. Attamen si bellum uultis, et si deus uoluerit ut sit per uoluntatem suam quod totam terram christianorum adquiramus, obuiabimus per uirtutem dei sicut scriptum est in litteris nostris. Verum si nos de bono pacis requisieritis, mandabimus procuratoribus^o istorum trium locorum predictorum ut nobis^p ea sine contradictione consignent, et uobis sanctam^q crucem reddemus, et liberabimus omnes captiuos christianos qui sunt^r in tota terra nostra, et permittemus uobis ad sepulcrum esse unum sacerdotem, et reddemus abbatias que solebant esse tempore paganismi, et bonum eis faciemus et permittemus^s uenire peregrinos^t in tota uita nostra, et habebimus^u uobiscum^v pacem. Quod si carta que ad nos uenit per manum Henrici nominatim^w sit carta regis, scripsimus cartam^x istam pro responso, et deus erigat nos ad consilium suum sua uoluntate. Carta hec scripta fuit anno aduentus prophete nostri Mahumeti^y quingentesimo .LXXXIII.^z gratia dei solius. Et deus saluet prophetam nostrum Mahumetum et suam progeniem et saluet saluationem saluatoris domini excelsi regis, uictoriosi adunatoris, ueridici^{aa} uerbi comptoris, uexilli ueritatis,^{bb} correctoris^{aa} orbis et legis, soldani Sarracenorum et paganorum, saluatoris duarum sanctarum domorum, et sancte domus Ierusalem, patris uictorum Ioseph, filii Iob, suscitatoris progeniei Myrmuraeni.

^a corrected from terra V ^b exercitum P ^c coadunauit V ^d ba- interlin. A
^e -err- interlin. A ^f gessire AP ^g terra P ^h uestris AP ⁱ followed by
erasure of approx. two letters A ^j seemingly corrected from excellentissimus A,
excellentissimus P ^k -s interlin. C ^l sum moueremus P ^m assurgere P
ⁿ typolis P ^o corrected from (?) procuratoribus C ^p uobis CV ^q santam A
^r om. AP, followed by insertion mark V ^s permittemus with interlin. -i- P
^t perregrinos, perhaps corrected from per regnos C ^u habemus AP ^v altered to
nobiscum A, nobiscum P ^w nominatum V ^x kcartam with k- expunctuated V
^y -h- interlin. C ^z octogesimo added in mg. in different hand A, octogesimo added
in mg. P ^{aa-aa} added in mg. in different hand A ^{bb} ueritas P

you in his strength, there will be nothing to prevent us from capturing your lands freely by his strength and will.

For an alliance of the Christian law has come against us twice in Babylon: once at Damietta, and a second time at Alexandria, and it was [when] the coast of the land of Jerusalem [was] in Christian hands; and in the land of Damascus and in the land of the Saracens, each of the lords in each of the castles [were] accomplishing things for themselves. You know how the Christians returned each time, and to what end they came. And these people of ours have been replenished with their own regions, and God has ordained regions for us more affluently, and he has gathered them far and wide into our power: Babylon with its territories, and the land of Damascus, and the coast of Jerusalem, and the land of the Jazira, and its castles, and the land of [Edessa] with its territories, and the region of India with its territories. And through the grace of God all of this is in our hands, and the rest of the kingdom of the Saracens submits to our rule. For if we were to send for the most excellent kings of the Saracens, they would not withdraw from us; and if we were to summon the Caliph of Baghdad—may God preserve him—to come to us, he would rise up from the seat of his highest rule and come to the aid of Our Excellency. And through the strength and power of God we have obtained Jerusalem and its land; and Tyre, Tripoli and Antioch remain in the hands of the Christians, and concerning them there is nothing left but for them to be taken.

Nevertheless, if you want war, and if God desires for it to be that we acquire the whole land of the Christians through his will, we shall come to meet you through the strength of God, just as is written in our letter. But if you ask us for the blessing of peace, we shall send to the overseers of these three aforesaid places that they should consign them to us without objection, and we shall return the Holy Cross to you, and free all the Christian captives who are in our whole land, and allow you one priest at the Sepulchre, and return the abbeys which used to exist in the time of Pagandom, and we shall treat them well, and allow pilgrims to come throughout our whole life, and we shall have peace with you. But if the letter that came to us by the hand of the aforesaid Heinrich is the letter of the king, we have written this letter as a response, and may God lift us up to his counsel by his will.

This letter was written in the year 584 of the coming of our prophet Muḥammad, by the grace of God alone; and may God preserve our prophet Muḥammad and his lineage, and may he preserve the salvation of the saviour, the highest lord king, the victorious unifier, the adorer of the truthful word, the banner of truth, the corrector of the world and the law, the sultan of the Saracens and the pagans, the saviour of the two holy houses, and of the holy house of Jerusalem, the father of conquerors, Joseph son of Job [Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb], the one who raises up the lineage of al-Mu'minīn.

Appendix 1
Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon
Anglicanum*: sources for 1187

***Text in italics* derives from Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 320
(< *Gesta* ii. 11–12 [letter of the Genoese])**

**Underlined text derives from *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per
Saladinum*, pp. 147, 165, 199–213 above**

Hoc¹ anno *Saláádini exercitus Christianorum exercitum, laborioso itinere confectum et nimio caloris aestu prægravatum, aqua omnino deficiente, expugnavit in loco qui dicitur Marescaucie, qui locus distat a civitate Tyberiadis tribus millibus. Tunc sex ex militibus regis Guidonis ad Saláádinum confugerunt, et de omni re et proposito Christianorum eum instruxerunt. Unde Saláádinus, qui antea de discrimine belli dubitabat, resumpsit vires, et cum infinita multitudine bellatorum Christianos omni genere pugnandi invasit et expugnavit. Tandem Tekedinus, nepos Saláádini, Guidonem regem Hierusalem fugam arripientem cepit cum Cruce Dominici ligni, interfecto Rufino episcopo de Achon, qui eam, contra consuetudinem, loricated portavit, et hoc digno Dei iudicio, quia magis in armis terrenis quam in cælestibus confidentiam habuit.*²

¹ This marks the beginning of Ralph's contribution to the *Chronicon Anglicanum*. The preceding entry on the birth of Arthur of Brittany and Louis [VIII] of France is marginal in the autograph [London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. x], fol. 49r.

² On Rufinus, see above, p. 22. The detail that he went into battle 'armoured, against custom' (*contra consuetudinem loricated*) was not in the original copy of the letter of the Genoese: see Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, vol. 2, pp. 11–13. As far as we are aware, it is mentioned nowhere else. There is a distinct element of moral censure here, with echoes a passage from the *Libellus*, c. VI.

Princeps Raginaldus ibidem interfectus est; Rogerus de Mumbrai,³ Hugo de Bellocampo⁴ capti sunt, et plures nobilium cum eis; et *fere* universus exercitus Christianorum a Sarracenis *confractus, captus et trucidatus* est; sed *comes Tripolitanus cum* quibusdam aliis per fugam *illæsus evasit*.

Statim vero Saláádinus militiæ Templi et Hospitalis milites segregari fecit ab aliis et coram se decapitari, et ipse principem Reimundum [sic]⁵ de Castellione propria manu interfecit. Deinde civitatem Accon cepit ad adjacentia loca, et munitiones fere omnes de partibus illis, absque Tyro, quam Conradus le Marchis viriliter tuebatur. Cumque hanc civitatem capere non posset, [Saláádinus] abiit inde et cepit Baruth, et utramque civitatem quæ dicitur Gibelet, et Sydonem et Cæsaream, Joppen et Nazareth, et Sanctum Georgium et montem Thabor, et Fabam et Cavam Templi, et alia plura castella.⁶ Saphadinus autem, frater Salááдини, cum exercitu suo, (quem de Ægypto et Alexandria et Babylone conduxerat), omnem regionem a Darone et Gazaris usque Hierusalem, castella omnia et civitates confringendo et interficiendo habitatores, captivavit, absque Aschalone civitate, quæ muris fortissimis munita erat. Deinde applicuit ad Joppen, et cepit eam cum tota regione illa, et castellum quod vocatur Mirabel, et omnia montana circa Bethléém, a meridie et occidente Hierusalem. Regina vero, Guidonis regis uxor, recepit

³ Roger I de Mowbray († 1188) was well acquainted with the East. He had gone on the Second Crusade, seems to have accompanied Philip of Alsace in 1177, and returned again in 1185 following the embassy of Patriarch Eraclius to the West along with Hugh de Beauchamp, as reported by Roger of Howden, *Gesta*, vol. 1, p. 359 [*Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 316]. On 24 April 1164 he witnessed a charter of King Amalric, issued at Jerusalem, in which the king granted to the lepers of the Church of St Lazarus before the walls of Jerusalem a prisoner of war of his choosing from the royal share of the booty from any raid in which he or his banner had taken part: see Mayer, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, p. 535 (n° 308) [for further references, see p. 534]. Hugh M. Thomas, in *ODNB*, reports that Roger was ransomed by the Templars in 1188 but ‘died soon thereafter and was buried in the Holy Land’: his father and mother married in 1118, and if he was born in the 1120s, as seems likely, he must have been in his sixties by the time he was captured, a considerable age for a warrior. Roger’s capture, ransom, and death are recorded by Howden at *Gesta*, vol. 2, p. 22 and *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 325.

⁴ Hugh’s death at Ḥaṭṭīn is recorded by Howden at *Gesta*, vol. 2, p. 22 and *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 325.

⁵ A strange error to make, considering Ralph has just noted (correctly) that it was Reynald who was killed; but he seems here to be absentmindedly repeating Roger of Howden’s own mistake—and in any case, he may believe ‘Prince Reynald’ and ‘Prince Raymond of Châtillon’ to be two separate people (though again, this would be strange if, as the evidence suggests, he had read the account of the *Libellus*). The original letter of the Genoese correctly calls him ‘Reynald’.

⁶ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 321 provides a much longer lists of *castella*, which Ralph compresses here.

se cum familia et duabus filiabus suis in civitate Aschalona, et eam munivit victualibus et bellatoribus; sed postmodum anno sequenti tradidit civitatem Saláádino pro redemptione mariti sui, et sic liberavit eum a carcere Saláádini. Comes Tripolitanus, cum terram suam tradere proposuisset Saláádino, inventus est mortuus in lecto suo. Unde uxor illius tradidit se et civitatem Tripolim Reimundo [recte Bohemond (III)] principi Antiochiæ, qui bene munierat Antiochiam cum tota fere terra sua contra Saláádinum.

Post hæc, vicesima die mensis Septembris sancta civitas Hierusalem obsessa est ab incredulis cum magno clangore tubarum, et strepitu armorum, et ululatu vociferantium. Hierosolymitæ vero per unam hebdomadam viriliter contra eos certabant. Sed tandem Christiani crudeli et indefesso Turcorum certamine sic defatigati et defecti erant, ut vix viginti vel triginta ad defensiones murorum civitatis apparerent. Non inveniebatur jam homo tam audax in omni civitate qui pro pretio centum Bisantium auderet una nocte ad defensionem vigilare. Inter hæc habitatores Hierusalem, necessitate compulsi, legatos ad regem Syriæ per ter mittunt, supplicantes quatenus centum Bisantium pro sua redemptione ab eis accipiat, et eos libere de sancta civitate cum suis egredi permittat. At illo renuente, tandem, accepto consilio, tale tributum Hierosolymitis instituit, quatenus unusquisque masculus decem annorum et supra, pro sui liberatione decem Bisantios persolveret, femina quinque, puer septem annorum et infra, unum; et sic a servitute liberati, quo vellent securi abirent. Placuit ergo conventio ista domino patriarchæ et cæteris qui pecunias habebant; qui vero aureos non habebant, lamentabili voce indesinenter plangebant. Igitur anno MCLXXXVII. tradita est Hierusalem (proh dolor!) in manibus nefandorum a Christianis, qui eam possederant per quater viginti et septem annos ex quo erepta fuerat a potestate paganorum.

Appendix 2

Gazetteer

Bait Jibrīn: Genesis 21:22–32 describes the meeting of Abraham and Abimelech and identifies their oath-taking as the origin of the name ‘Bersabee’. Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, ed. Paul de Lagarde in *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera*, CCSL, vol. 72 (Turnhout, 1959), pp. 1–56, here pp. 25–6, explains the latter of the different etymologies given above: ‘The reason why it is called [‘Bersabee’ in Hebrew] is twofold: either because Abimelech accepted seven lambs from Abraham’s hand (‘seven’ is called *sabee*), or because they swore an oath there (for ‘oath’ is likewise called *sabee*).’ Note that the place designated as Beer’-Sheba as Bait Jibrīn (Beit Guvrin) in the crusading period differs from the modern Be’er Sheva (in the Negev in southern Israel). For ‘the seventh well’, see also Jerome, *Liber interpretationis*, p. 62. Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, no. 34, p. 27.

Bethany (c. VIII): The ‘Bethany’ referred to in Chapter VIII is presumably meant to denote the site east of the Jordan where John the Baptist was believed to have performed baptisms, rather than the village of Bethany to the east of Jerusalem, which appears in Chapter XXII. In John 22–3, it is called *Aenon iuxta Salim* (‘Aenon near Salim’), but Fretellus, in *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa Description de la Terre Sainte: histoire et édition du texte*, ed. P. C. Boeren (Amsterdam, 1980), c. 40 (p. 26) gives it the alternative name *Bethania*. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Ierosolymitana*, ed. Franciscus Moschus, *Iacobi de Vitriaco primum Acconensis ... libri duo* (Douai, 1597; repr. Farnborough 1971), LVIII (p. 328) notes: ‘There is another Bethany across the Jordan, where John the Baptist was baptizing.’

Bethany (c. XXII): The village of Bethany referred to in Chapter XXII is situated 2.5 km to the east of Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives: see Pringle, *Churches*, I, 122–37 (nos 59–60).

Bethsaida: Bethsaida was the home of Andrew, Peter, and Philip on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, near Capernaum and Chorazin (Khirbat Karaza) in the region of Gennesareth, which has been identified with Khirbat al-‘Uraima (Tel Kinrot): see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 15, 35;

Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 60 (n° 125). In Matthew 11:21 and Luke 10:13, Christ rebukes Chorazin and Bethsaida for failing to do penance in his response to his miracles. Although our author substitutes Tiberias for Chorazin, some twelfth-century pilgrims identified Chorazin as the site where Antichrist would be born: see John of Würzburg, ll. 649–50; Theoderic, ll. 1464–5. This may add strength to the author's ostensible criticism of Raymond in Chapter V.

Cafra: Pringle identifies Cafra (or 'Cafram') as Shafa 'Amr: Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 301–4 (nos 227–8); *Secular Buildings*, p. 115 (n° P25). Given that Shafa 'Amr lies more than 45 kilometres north-west of the River Jordan, however, it seems unlikely that a raiding party—even a swift one—could have made it so far in one night. Kafr Kannā (*Casal Robert*), situated 5 km north-east of Nazareth, seems a more plausible candidate, especially given that the subsequent paragraph says that the watchmen of Nazareth saw the Muslim raiders with the approach of dawn. If the author was merely transliterating the 'Kafr' element of Kafr Kannā into Latin, then *Cafra* would be a logical rendering (assuming that the *-m* in the text marks an accusative ending in accordance with the sense of motion).

Cana of Galilee: While the 'valley of Şaffūrīyah' (*vallis Saforiae*) referred to in Chapter II is easy enough to identify, lying roughly 5 km north-northwest of Nazareth, the 'field of Cana of Galilee' (*campus Cana Galilaeae*) poses some difficulties. Pringle notes that Kafr Kannā (5 km north-northeast of Nazareth) was identified with 'Cana of Galilee' prior to the twelfth century, but suggests that Western pilgrims then started associating the biblical site of Christ's miraculous transformation of water into wine with Khirbat Qana (Khirbet Qana, 14 km north of Nazareth): see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 285–6; vol. 2, pp. 162–4 (n° 181). Kafr Kannā, however, never fully lost its links with the miracle in popular memory: Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, p. 285; vol. 2, pp. 162–3. It seems likely that, for our author's purposes, the entire plain to the north of Nazareth served as the 'level ground of the field of Cana of Galilee' (*planities campi Cana Galilaeae*), especially given that Khirbat Qana lies on a small hill detached from the Jabal Qana, which overlooks it from the north.

Cavan: William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 22.27(26), p. 1050 (trans. vol. 2, p. 473) is the only other Western source to mention Cavan, i.e. al-Qaḥwānī: see Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 249. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 319 calls it 'Uqḥuwāna' (in n. 5, Richards says 'al-Qaḥwāna'). See also Ibn al-'Adīm, p. 178, 'Imād al-Dīn, pp. 22, 95. Saladin's invasions of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1182 and 1183 proceeded using a similar route from the east via al-Uqḥuwāna, but then south to Baisān instead of north-west to Kafr Sabt.

Church in the Name of the Saviour: The Church of the Saviour at Jacob's Well at the foot of Mt Garizim, around two kilometres south-east of Nablus, seems to have been built over the remains of an earlier Byzantine

church at some point in the twelfth century: see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 258–64 (n° 108).

Church of St Job: Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 106–7 (n° 37) identifies this as Khirbat Bal'ama, southwest of Janin, near the site on the 'plain of Dotaym' where Guy of Lusignan and Raymond of Tripoli are said to have reconciled (see *Libellus*, c. VI), though he notes that 'no trace of the church ... has yet been found'.

Cistern of Joseph: On the site known as the Cistern of Joseph, see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 106–7 (n° 37). *Ernouf*, c. XIII (p. 153), Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, XXIII.xxix (p. 45), and Lyon *Eracles*, §28, p. 42 (trans. Edbury, p. 35) place the encounter between Guy and Raymond at 'a [Hospitaller] castle which was called St Job' because Job was thought to have lived there, but *Ernouf* adds that this castle was situated in the region known as *Thaym* (or *Thaim* in certain manuscripts), that is, Dothan (*Dotaym*).

Dog River: The 'Dog River' (Arabic *Nahr al-Kalb*) is a river in Lebanon, north of Beirut.

Endor: Endor appears several times in the Old Testament, perhaps most famously in 1 Kings (1 Samuel) 28:7–25, when Saul consults a witch there before his defeat in the Battle of Gilboa. In a tradition going back to Jerome, *Liber de situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum*, in *PL*, vol. 23, col. 914B, various twelfth-century pilgrimage accounts locate the 'hill of Endor' (*mons Endor*) 'above Na'im' (*supra Naim*): see, for example, John of Würzburg, p. 82; Theodericus, p. 192. Na'im was known as the village where Christ resurrected the widow's son in Luke 7:11–17. Belvoir was a castle built (probably c. 1138–40) on the remains of an earlier Jewish settlement and sold to the Hospitallers in 1168. After the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, the castle held out until 5 January 1189, when the garrison surrendered to the Muslims and was allowed to leave for Tyre. Baisan (Bet She'an) was an important lordship in Frankish times. On these places, see Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 25 (n° 26) [Baisan], 32 (n° 46) [Belvoir]; Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 93 (n° 30) [Baisan], 120–2 (n° 57) [Belvoir]; vol. 2, pp. 115–16 (n° 168) [Na'im].

Gaza: Gaza had been captured by the Franks and fortified in 1149. The Templars ultimately surrendered it after the fall of Ascalon in exchange for the (eventual) release of Gerard de Ridefort, who had been brought from captivity in Damascus: see Abū Shāma, pp. 313–14 (citing 'Imād al-Dīn). On Gaza, see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 208–20 (nos 92–4). Theoderic, ll. 1212–14 reports that Gaza was called 'Gazara' at the time of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land c. 1169–74. The *Libellus* gives *Gazaris* in the Latin.

Gerar: To the best of our knowledge, Gerar is not mentioned in twelfth-century pilgrim accounts, historical texts, or documents. However, it does appear in Genesis 10:19, 20:1–2, 26:1–26, and 2 Chronicles

26:1. Only Genesis 26:1 links Gerar to the Philistines. The author may be trying to emphasise subtly that Saif al-Dīn's attack from Egypt passes through the land given by God to Abraham and Isaac.

Japhep: The geographical information given in Chapter VI presents 'The Table' as half way along the road from Tiberias to 'Japhep', which suggests that 'Japhep' refers to Safad (Saphet), which is not mentioned elsewhere in the *Libellus*. It had a castle that was given by King Amalric to the Templars in 1168: Mayer, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, pp. 562–3 (n° 325). Alternately, the author or a redactor could have deliberately changed Safed to Japhep as an allusion to Judith 2:15. In this passage, Nebuchadnezzar II, King of Babylon, sends his general Holofernes to lay waste to the western lands as far south as Japheth; the allusion would therefore equate the Muslims of 1187 with the ancient Babylonians, a conflation that is made elsewhere in the *Libellus*. Conversely, 'Japhep' might represent a typographical error or an error of mishearing; note, for example, the corruption of place names in the August 1187 letter from the Hospitallers of Jerusalem to Lord Archambald of the Hospitallers in Italy: *RRRH*, n° 661.

Jezeel Valley: The 'very wide plain' (*latissimum campum*) mentioned in Chapter XVII is the Jezeel Valley. Caymont (Tall Qaimun) was the centre of an administrative district under the Franks, as was Lajjun (ancient Meggido). La Fève (al-Fula) was a Templar castle at the crossroads from Nablus to Nazareth and Haifa to Bet Sh'ean (Baisan), and Jezeel (Zi'rīn) also had a Templar fort. On these places, see Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 49 (n° 96) [La Fève], 56 (n° 116) [Jezeel], 76–7 (n° 159) [Caymont]; Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 276–9 (n° 124) [Jezeel]; II, 3–5 (n° 135) [Lajjun], 159–61 (n° 179) [Caymont].

Kishon River: The Kishon River has its source in the mountains of Gilboa overlooking the Jezeel Valley.

The Lord's Leap: Also known as the Mount of Precipitation or simply The Precipice. In the twelfth century, it appears to have had a chapel carved into the side of a rocky outcrop, and possibly some other minor buildings. It was certainly a small and out-of-the-way settlement. See Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 45–8. The biblical story that gave this location its name is found in Luke 4:28–30.

Maskana (Marescalcia): Mayer (ed.), *IP1*, p. 257, n. 5 tentatively identifies *Marescalcia* (called *Marescallia* in *IP1*) as Khirbat Maskana to the west of Tiberias and northwest of Lubiya. John France, *Hattin* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 109, 115–16 calls it 'Maskana' and notes that a small pool and spring were located there. It was actually closer to 7.5 miles away from Tiberias. A charter signed in Tyre dated between 4 July and 6 August 1187 abolishes entrance tariffs for Genoese ships, noting 'the sorrowful battle with the Turks above Manescalcia of Tyberias': Mayer, *Urkunden*, vol. 3, pp. 1339–43 (n° 769). It is called 'Marestutia' in a letter dated August

1187 from the Hospitallers in Jerusalem to Archambald, Master of the Hospital of Italy: *RRRH*, n° 661.

Montjoie of Jerusalem: There has been some discussion about the exact whereabouts of the twelfth-century site of Montjoie of Jerusalem. For a long time, it was erroneously conflated with Mount Shiloh (Nabi Samwil). Kedar identifies the twelfth-century site of Montjoie of Jerusalem as Mount Skopus (Mashārif), around 2.5km north-northeast of the Old City. This identification differs from the thirteenth-century site of Montjoie, which refers to Nabi Samwil, 7.5km to the north-west of Jerusalem. Kedar's argument aligns with the *Libellus*, which distinctly gives these sites under two different names. Pringle identified Montjoie of Jerusalem as Shuʿfat, some 3km north of Mount Skopus. A new military order established by Pope Alexander III in 1180 had its base at Montjoie of Jerusalem. They were called the House of the Knights of the Temple of Saint Mary of Montjoie of Jerusalem: Kedar, 'Jerusalem's two *Montes Gaudii*', p. 11. Pringle refers to this order as the 'Order of Mount Joy'. As of 1180, the site of Montjoie of Jerusalem possessed a house and the beginnings of a church: Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 43–5, 316–17.

Mount Carmel: Elijah triumphed over the prophets of Ba'al on the summit of Mt Carmel: see 3 Kings 18:20–46. There were two monasteries on Mt Carmel: one on the upper terrace, dedicated to St Margaret, and another associated with a man-made cave below it, which tradition said had been inhabited by Elijah and Elisha after him: see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 226–9 (n° 203), 244–8 (n° 211). The former does not seem to have been founded until the late twelfth century or the early thirteenth. By c. 1169–1172, the Templars had built a castle on the summit of Mt Carmel. This was known as *S. Margareta castellum* or *Cava Templi castrum*: see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 248–9 (n° 212); Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 93 (n° 196). Theoderic, ll. 1304–5 also remarks on its prominence and utility to passing sailors.

Mount Modin: This was regarded as the burial site of the Maccabees: see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, p. 6. Its exact location in the twelfth century is unclear.

Mount Shiloh: Kedar has convincingly shown that in the twelfth century Mount Shiloh (Nabi Samwil, also known as *mons* or *locus sancti Samuelis*) was different to Montjoie de Jerusalem (*Mons Gaudii*). The former was 7.5 km to the north-west of Jerusalem; the latter was around 2.5km north-northeast of the Old City. The site of St Samuel included a Premonstratensian abbey. For further discussion and onward references, see Introduction, pp. 44–8.

Mount Someron: In 3 Kings (1 Kings) 16:24, Omri, king of Israel, buys the hill of Samaria from Shemer (*Somer*) for two talents of silver, and builds the city of Samaria upon it. This was known to the Franks primarily as Sebaste. See Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 283–301 (n°s 225–6). It is

unclear why the author of the *Libellus* chooses to associate Sebaste with biblical Sorek. See also Sebaste.

Mount of Temptation: Matthew 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13. The Mount of Temptation (also known as Jabal Quruntul, Quarantena, Quarantaine) was located roughly eleven kilometres northwest of Jericho. In the Frankish period, a priory subordinate to the Holy Sepulchre was established here, and a Templar castle was also built here using the ‘rock-cut caves and cisterns of the former Maccabean fortress of *Doc*, on and around the summit of Jabal Quruntul’: see Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 52 (n^o 109); Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 252–8 (n^{os} 104–7). The priory of Quarantena comprised various buildings: the Chapel of St Mary, the Chapel of the Holy Cross, the Chapel of Our Lord’s Fast and First Temptation, and the Chapel of Our Lord’s Third Temptation. ‘Imād al-Dīn, p. 99, lists it (*Quaratayyā*) as conquered. See also Lyon *Eracles*, §10, p. 24 (trans. Edbury, p. 18).

Phoenicia: The ‘region of Phoenicia’ (*regio Fenicis*) refers to the coastal lands in the kingdom of Jerusalem and the county of Tripoli that were once occupied by the ancient Phoenicians.

Ra’s al-Mā’: The author’s translation of *Rasseleme* (Ra’s al-Mā’; Arabic رَأْسُ الْمَاءِ) as ‘Head of the Water’ is correct. ‘Imād al-Dīn, pp. 14, 93, Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 319, Abū Shamā, p. 261 and Ibn al-‘Adīm, p. 177 call it Ra’s al-Mā’; Ibn Shaddād, p. 71 merely says that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn set up camp ‘in the district of Qunayṭra’. Richards (Ibn Shaddād, trans.), p. 71, n. 3 locates Ra’s al-Mā’ ‘about 7km north of Sheikh Miskin’, that is, al-Shaykh Maskin, though on what authority is unknown. William of Tyre also mentions a ‘*Ras el Ine*, which is translated as “head of the water”’ in the context of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s first raid on the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1182. ‘*Ras el Ine*’ appears to transliterate the Arabic Ra’s al-‘Ayn (رَأْسُ الْعَيْنِ), rather than Ra’s al-Mā’. Both ‘*ayn* and *mā*’ can be used interchangeably in Arabic to mean ‘water’ (*ayn* being more elevated than *mā*), and Ra’s al-Mā’ and Ra’s al-‘Ayn both appear to have been fairly interchangeable terms for ‘spring’. William’s narrative bears a structural similarity to the *Libellus* at this point in the sense of mentioning Ra’s al-‘Ayn/Mā’, its translation, and Cavan in quick succession: see William of Tyre, 22.17(16), p. 1030 (trans. vol. 2, p. 473).

The Red Cistern: Jerome, *De situ*, in *PL*, vol. 23, col. 870B–C: ‘qui locus usque hodie vocatur Maledomim ... Latine autem appellari potest, ascensus ruforum, sive rubentium, propter sanguinem qui illic crebro a latronibus funditur.’ The date of construction of the Frankish castle at Ma’ale Adumim (Qal’at ad-Damm or Tal’at ad-Damm) is unknown, though it appears to have been visited by Theoderic c. 1172: see Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 78–9 (n^o 162); Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 345–6 (n^o 251).

Saint Samuel: See Mount Shiloh.

Şarafand (*Sarepta*): i.e. Şarafand/Zarephath some 10km south-west of Sidon, not to be confused with Sarafand al-Kharab, north-east of Ibelin: Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 90 (n° 186); Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 281–2 (n° 224). ‘Imād al-Dīn p. 39 describes Şarafand (in Massé’s translation) as “une agréable ville au bord de la mer, abondante en citernes, pourvue de vergers, de fleurs et de plantes odoriférantes, d’orangers et de citronniers”. On the Chapel of St Elias located there, see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 281–2 (n° 224).

Sebaste: Jerome, *De situ*, in *PL*, vol. 23, col. 920C: ‘Someron, et hanc cepit Iesus, rege illius interfecto. Dicunt autem nunc pro ea Sebasten vocari oppidum Palaestinae, ubi sancti Iohannis baptistae reliquiae conditae sunt.’ See also 1 Kings 16:24. Sebaste had traditionally been regarded as the site of the tomb of John the Baptist. His relics, ‘together with those of Elisha, Obadiah, and, as it seemed, many prophets and patriarchs, were miraculously found’ there in 1145: see Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, p. 285. See also Mount Someron.

Sharon: With reference to 2 Chronicles 27:29 and Isaiah 35:2, Jerome, *De situ*, in *PL*, vol. 23, col. 922D–923A describes ‘Saron’ (i.e. ‘Sharon’) as ‘until the present day the region between Mt Tabor and Lake Tiberias, but also all the land from Caesarea Palaestina to the town of Jaffa’. The author of the *Libellus* clearly understood Sharon to refer to the latter.

Sorek: In the Vulgate, Isaiah 5:1–2 reads: *Vinea facta est dilecto meo in cornu filio olei. Et sepivit eam et lapides elegit ex illa et plantavit eam electam* (‘My beloved had a vineyard on a hill in a fruitful place. And he fenced it in and picked the stones out of it and planted it with choicest vines ...’) In the Greek Septuagint, however, Isaiah 5:2 reads: καὶ ἐφύτευσά ἄμπελον Σωρηκ (‘and I planted the vineyard of Sorek’). Sorek (שׁוֹרֵק) denotes ‘elect’ or ‘quality’ in Hebrew. Jerome discusses various pre-Vulgate versions of the Bible and the meaning of Sorek in Book II of his *Commentariorum in Isaiam prophetam libri duodeviginti*: see *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera. Pars I: opera exegetica. 2: Commentariorum in Esaiam Libri I–XI*, CCSL vol. 73 (Turnhout, 1963), pp. 64–5. In Judges 16:4, the valley of Sorek is the residence of Delilah, and appears to be located west of Jerusalem, along the modern Nahal Sorek. It is unclear why the author associates it with Samaria/Sebaste.

The Table: The place where the miracle of the Feeding of the Five Thousand was thought to have taken place is now known as at-Tabgha, a few kilometres southwest of Talhum beside the Sea of Galilee. In the pilgrim narratives, ‘the Table’ is referred to as ‘Mensa’, ‘Tabula’, and ‘Locus Refectionis’ in Latin, and ‘la Table’ in Old French. Remains of settlements are extant there, including a tower, mills, and a modern church: see Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 97 (n° 213); Pringle, *Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 334–9 (n° 249).

Tanis: The ‘field of Tanis’ (also spelt Tennis, Tinnis, etc.) is mentioned in Psalms 77:12, 43, 78:13, and Isaiah 19:11, 13, but it was also a real settlement in the Nile delta in the twelfth century. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered it to be abandoned in 1192–1193: see Lyons and Jackson, p. 346.

Til: Til is likely to be a Latinisation of the Arabic تَلّ (*tall*, often transliterated *tell*), meaning ‘mound’. It is possible that the author was referring to modern Talhum, the site of Biblical Capernaum, which may still have been occupied in the Frankish period: see Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 46 (n° 77).

Appendix 3

Biblical references

Direct biblical quotations or references that require a full explanation have been given in footnotes and in the introduction. The references given in this appendix are more minor coherences of phrasing. This Appendix covers Part I only.

Chapter I

‘Waters of contradiction’: Numbers 20:12–13.

Chapter II

‘Every kingdom divided shall be made desolate’: Matthew 12:25; Luke 11:17; Mark 3:24.

‘He gathered a copious army’: 1 Maccabees 10:2; 13:1.

‘Like sons of night and darkness’: 1 Thessalonians 5:5.

‘In the silence of the dead of night’: 3 Kings (1 Kings) 3:20.

‘The sun of justice’: Malachi 4:2.

‘Enemies of the cross of Christ’: Philippians 3:18.

Chapter III

‘With the city in uproar’: 3 Kings (1 Kings) 1:41.

‘My dearest brothers’: James 1:16, 1:19, 2:5; Philippians 4:1

‘Fellow soldiers’: Philippians 2:25; Philemon 1:2.

‘Gird yourselves’: Isaiah 8:9.

‘Stand firm in the Lord’s battle’: Ezekiel 13:5.

‘Remember your fathers’: Judith 4:13.

‘Through faith, and justice, and observance of God’s commands’: 1 Corinthians 7:19.

‘They all spoke with one voice’: Romans 15:6.

‘We are always victors in the name of Jesus’: Romans 14:8.

‘Dearest brothers’: Philippians 4:1; James 1:16, 1:19, 2:5.

‘Do not be afraid of these’: Luke 12:4.

‘Do not fear or tremble’: Isaiah 8:12.

Chapter IV

- ‘They all took up arms glad at heart’: 3 Kings (1 Kings) 8:66.
 ‘They drew up their battle array’: Genesis 14:8, and numerous other Biblical instances.
 ‘Feigning flight as if struck by fear’: Judges 20:32 (*fugam arte simulantes*); Wisdom 17:6 (*timore percussi*).
 ‘Striking them with their swords [like] lightning’: Deuteronomy 32:41.
 ‘They joined together in one body’: 2 Kings 2:25.
 ‘With one mind’: Acts 19:29; Acts 18:12; Joshua 9:2; Judith 1:11.
 ‘Pressed together by the throng of barbarians, were gathered’: Acts 15:25.
 ‘Hateful to god’: Romans 1:30.

Chapter V

- ‘A father of orphans’: Psalm 67:6.
 ‘Take up lamentation’: Ezekiel 19:1.
 ‘The dryness of thirst’: Judith 7:17.

Chapter VI

- ‘Into the ruin of death’: Proverbs 14:27.
 ‘Deliver them to death’: Matthew 26:59; Mark 14:55.
 ‘Made great mourning over the dead’: Acts 8:2.
 ‘So, daughters of Nazareth and Galilee, multiply your lamentation, increase your weeping’: Luke 23:28.
 ‘Increase your weeping, because your sorrow is incurable’: Jeremiah 30:15.
 ‘Saddened to the point of death’: Matthew 26:38.

Chapter VII

- ‘The king of Syria gathered an army as copious’: 3 Kings (1 Kings) 20:1; 4 Kings (2 Kings) 6:24; 1 Maccabees 10:2, 13:1.
 ‘As copious as the sand on the shore of the sea’: Genesis 22:17; Joshua 11:4; Judges 7:12; 1 Kings 13:5; 3 Kings (1 Kings) 4:29; Daniel 3:36.
 ‘Assembled an army from all of Judea and Samaria’: Luke 6:17; Acts 1:8.
 ‘Opened the treasury and made a payment’: 1 Maccabees 3:28.
 ‘They gloried in their great number of men and whinnying horses, in their armour, too, and in their helmets and lances and golden shields’: Judith 9:9.
 ‘They did not believe in God, nor did they place hope in the salvation of him who is the protector and saviour of Israel’: Psalm 77: 22.
 ‘They lapsed in their thoughts and became vain’: Romans 1:21; Jeremiah 2:5.
 ‘They did not believe in God, nor did they place hope in the salvation of him who is the protector and saviour of Israel’: 1 Kings (1 Samuel) 14:39; Isaiah 43:3, 45:15; 1 Maccabees 4:30; Acts 13:23.

Chapter X

‘Raised themselves up in such great pride that they wish to turn neither right nor left’: Numbers 20:17; 1 Kings 6:12; 1 Maccabees 5:46.
‘Eating the flesh of their neighbours in jealousy and in hatred’: Zechariah 11:9.

Chapter XI

‘In their companies’: Exodus 6:26, 12:51, 40:34; Numbers 1:3, 2:9, 2:16, 2:24, 2:34 (etc.); 2 Kings 18:4; 1 Chronicles 27:1; 2 Chronicles 31:17; Proverbs 30:27.
‘Dryness of thirst’: Judith 7:17.
‘Oh, how wretched a rest after such a long way through the wilderness!’: Joshua 8:15.
‘But they refused correction’: Jeremiah 5:3.

Chapter XII

‘The shadow of death’: Psalm 43:20.
‘A day of tribulation and misery, a day of captivity and anguish, a day of lamentation and ruin’: Zephaniah 1:15; Esther 11:8; Deuteronomy 34:8; Deuteronomy 32:35; Job 21:30; Jeremiah 18:17; Obadiah 1:12.
‘Joined together in one body’: 2 Kings 2:25.

Chapter XIV

‘Then the Saracens gathered around the Lord’s Cross, and the king, and the others, destroying the Church’: Acts 8:3.
‘Did to them whatever they wished’: Matthew 17:12.
‘Should I say with unclean lips’: Isaiah 6:5.
‘Woe to wretched me, that in the days of my wretched life I am forced to see such things’: 1 Maccabees 2:7.
‘A people laden with iniquity’: Isaiah 1:5.
‘It is impossible to please God without faith’: Hebrews 11:6.
‘The Cross does not forsake those who trust in it’: Judith 13:17.

Chapter XVI

‘Covering the face of the earth like locusts’: Judith 2:11.

Chapter XVIII

‘Inflicting many torments on him so that he would reveal the treasures and pearls of the Church to swine’: Matthew 7:6.

Chapter XIX

‘Heart was lifted up’: 2 Chronicles 26:16, 32:25; Judith 1:7; Ezekiel 28:2, 28:5–6, 28:17, 31:10; Daniel 5:20; 1 Maccabees 1:4.

Chapter XX

‘The multitude of Saracens was as great as the sand on the sea shore, which no man can count’: Revelation 7:9.

Chapter XXII

‘He [Samuel] is indeed a true prophet’: John 7:40.

Chapter XXIII

‘With a great clangour of trumpets’: Numbers 10:17 and others.

‘By the noise and howling’: Judith 14:7.

‘Battle was then engaged’: 3 Kings 20:29, 22:55; 1 Maccabees 9:13, 9:46.

‘Rejoiced with great joy’: Tobit 11:21.

‘But this rejoicing was very quickly turned into grief and lamentation when they realised the truth of the matter’: Tobit 2:6, alluding to Amos 8:10.

‘Because unless the Lord guards the city, he who guards it keeps watch in vain’: Psalm 126:1.

‘When the sun had risen’: 4 Kings 3:22; Mark 16:2.

‘By now almost everyone had one desire: that is, to die in their simplicity’: Proverbs 19:1, 20:7, 28:6.

‘In praise of Christ’ (*in confessione Christi*): Psalms 68:31, 146:7.

Chapter XXIV

‘What an extraordinary act! Who has ever heard the like’: Isaiah 66:8.

Chapter XXV

‘Indeed, others expose themselves to death by fighting so that they do not, through the sloth of their indolence, become unworthy of their fathers and lose their inheritance—to their own shame—through the wickedness of dishonour’: Joshua 18:3.

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INDEX

Note - Medieval names are first name first; modern names are surname first.

- Aaron (biblical figure) 44, 195
Abimelech (biblical figure) 191, 249
Abraham (biblical figure) 117, 191, 249, 252
Abū Shāma 31, 32, 39
Acre, Bishop of *see also* Rufinus, Bishop of Acre 8, 20, 33, 37, 46, 50, 65–6, 163n102, 175, 179–81, 183n138, 185, 225, 247; 1189–1191 siege 2, 10, 26, 28, 96–7, 169, 225–37
Adam (biblical figure) 157, 173
Agnès of Courtenay 21
Ailred of Rievaulx 15
Aimery of Limoges, Patriarch of Antioch 16
Aimery of Lusignan, Constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem 97, 159, 189
Al-Nāsir, Caliph of Baghdad 245
Alexander III, Pope 16, 253
Alexandria 165, 189n146, 233, 245, 247
Amalric, King of Jerusalem 64, 74, 110, 247n3, 252
Ambroise 2, 63, 65–6, 96
animals 113, 127, 141, 145, 169, 211–13, 227, 229, 235; Muslims represented as 113, 115, 121, 143
Antichrist 14, 250
Antioch 7, 17, 223, 245, 248
Antony (Roman figure) 241
apocalypse 61–2
apostasy *see* Islam, conversion to
al-Aqṣā mosque 35
Arabia Maritima 239
Arabic 243; primary sources written in 31–4, 40; author's knowledge of 34–6
Ark of the Covenant 21 *esp.* n85, 45–6
Armenia 225, 241
Arsuf 33, 169
Ascalon 8, 29, 33, 165, 185, 187–91, 247, 248, 251
'Ayn Qiniya 41
Babylon, Babylonians 127, 167, 175, 181 *esp.* n135, 205, 245, 247, 252
Baghdad 245
Baghras 185n141
Bahā' al-Dīn *see* Ibn Shaddād
Baisan 8, 177, 250, 251, 252
Bait Jibrīn 8, 50, 74, 191, 249
Baldric of Bourgueil 17
Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem 27
Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem 45
Baldwin IV, King of Jerusalem 3–5, 21, 49, 64
Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem 2, 3–4, 26–7, 45, 50, 72, 74, 109
Baldwin of Forde, Archbishop of Canterbury 16, 97, 233–5
Baldwin of Ramla (= of Ibelin) 45, 49–50, 111n5
Bale, John 12–13, 83, 90, 93, 98, 102
Balian of Ibelin 8, 20, 36, 40, 41–2, 43, 49–50, 97, 115n14, 131, 135, 147n75, 155, 207
Bede 60
Bedouins 34, 49, 243
Beer'-Sheba *see* Bait Jibrīn
Beirut 5, 8, 19, 39, 163n102, 183, 185n141, 247
Belmont (abbey) 48–9
Belvoir 8, 177, 251
Benjamin of Tudela 45

- Bernard, Bishop of Lydda 7, 8, 20–22, 42, 45, 137 esp. n55, 155, 159 esp. n93, 189
- Bernard of Clairvaux 24, 45
- Bethany 18, 25, 137, 195
- Bethlehem 74, 169, 191n149, 193, 247
- Bethsaida 123, 249
- Bet Sh'ean *see* Baisan
- Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch 248
- Brigham, Nicholas 98
- Bruna Patricius 41
- al-Bundārī 31
- Caesarea 33, 165, 247
- Cafra 113, 250
- Cairo 165
- Calvary *see* Holy Sepulchre
- Cana of Galilee 59–60, 113, 123, 250
- Cavan 25, 113, 250, 254
- Cava Templi (place) 247, 253
- Caymont 173, 252
- Cécile Dorel 5
- Chaldea 205, 239
- children 43, 199, 207, 209, 213
- Christ *see* Jesus
- Chronicon Anglicanum *see* Ralph, Abbot of Coggeshall
- Chronique d'Ernoul *see* Ernoul-Bernard
- Church of the Ascension 197
- Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary: of Josaphat 197
- Church of the Blessed Job 173, 251
- Church of the Blessed Mary in Nazareth 129–31, 171
- Church in the Name of the Saviour 177, 250
- Church of St Elijah the Prophet 169
- Church of St Mary of Mount Zion 33, 219
- Church of the Saviour (Gethsemane) 197
- circumcision 8, 119–21 esp. n22, 181
- Cistercians *see also* Mount Shiloh (Nabi Samwil) 5, 24, 45, 47–50, 67, 88, 97
- Cistern of Joseph (place) 7, 133, 173, 251
- Cleopatra 241
- Coggeshall 1, 9, 25, 26–7, 47, 50, 63, 67–74, 76, 80–83, 85–6, 88–90, 92, 191n151
- Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles* 1, 37
- Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat 8, 9, 53, 64–5, 183, 225, 227, 231, 233, 247
- Constantinople 225
- conversion *see* Islam, conversion to
- Cotton library 68–9, 100
- Crassus 239
- Cressing Temple 23, 25
- Cresson, battle of 7, 20, 24, 30, 51–2, 119–31
- crosses 12, 113, 133, 141, 181, 193, 199, 219, 221, 223, 233, 239; crusading cross 58, 223; relic of the True Cross 7, 8, 20–21, 22, 30, 42, 46–7, 56–8, 81, 137, 143, 147, 151–9, 179, 245, 246; cross on the Dome of the Rock 6, 8, 67, 219
- crucifixion, the 6, 57–8
- Cyprus 37
- Damascus 225, 245, 251
- Damietta 245
- Darbsak 7, 185n141
- Daron 165, 191 n. 149
- David (biblical figure) 46, 159, 193, 195
- Devil *see* Satan
- Dog River 163, 251
- Dome of the Rock 6, 35, 207, 211, 217, 219
- Dothan (plain) 133, 173, 251
- Dunkin, Alfred 101–2, 103, 104
- Durand, Ursin *see* Martène, Edmond and Durand, Ursin
- eclipse 8, 29–30, 189
- Edessa 245
- Edom *see* Esau
- Egypt 33, 165, 173, 241, 247, 252, 256
- Eli of Shiloh (biblical figure) 20–21, 23, 137
- Elias (biblical figure) 183
- Elijah (biblical figure) 169, 253
- Endor 8, 177, 251
- Eracles *see* Colbert-Fontainebleau and Lyon *Eracles*
- Eraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem 3–4, 5, 6n24, 7, 20–22, 42–3, 44, 48–9, 50, 97, 109 esp. 110n5, 115, 137, 205, 207n188, 209, 247n3, 248
- Érard II, Count of Brienne 225–7
- Ernoul, squire of Balian of Ibelin 20, 22, 36, 41, 44

- Ernoul-Bernard 1, 10, 36–7, 40–41, 42–4, 48–9, 50, 96
 Esau (biblical figure) 129, 149
 Eschiva of Bures, Countess of Tripoli 7, 139, 143, 161, 248
 Estoire de la guerre sainte
see *Ambroise*
 Ethiopia 239
 Eustace Patricius 41, 42n188
 Eve (biblical figure) 171
 Exodus 7, 55–6
 eyewitnessing 10–11, 62
- Faba Templi (place) 247
 al-Fāḍīl 32, 39
 First Crusade 17
 Fourth Crusade 28–9, 88
 Frederick Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor 2, 9, 223; exchange with Ṣalāh al-Dīn 9, 66–7, 239–45
 Frederick VI, Duke of Swabia 225, 231
- Gabriel (the archangel) 171
 Galilee 6, 7, 11, 33, 59, 131, 135, 143, 185; invasion of 113–131; Sea of *see also* *Tiberias* 129, 139–41, 143, 147, 249, 255
 Gautier II Grenier 135
 Gaza (castle) 8, 165, 187, 191n149, 247, 251
 Geoffrey de Lusignan 233
 Gerar (region) 163, 165, 185, 191, 251–2
 Gerard de Ridefort, Grand Master of the Knights: Templar 5, 7, 19, 20, 24, 38, 44, 48–9, 50, 51, 97, 109, 115, 121, 131, 159, 227, 251
 Germany 239–41
 Gethsemane 197
 Gilbert d'Assailly, Master of the Hospitallers 22
 Gisors 223
 Godfrey of Bouillon 27, 40, 72
 Grim, Edward 12
 Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem 7, 8, 9, 17, 19, 20, 44, 45, 55, 97, 115, 131–3, 135, 139, 143, 145, 147, 151–3, 157, 159, 179, 189, 225, 246, 251; his coronation 4–6, 17, 74, 111
- Haifa 8, 169, 233, 252
 Ḥaṭṭīn, battle of 7, 10, 19, 20, 21, 24, 30–31, 33, 38, 40, 42, 55–6, 135, 147–53, 183n138, 251, 252
 Hebron 191n149
 Heinrich (interpreter of Frederick I) 243, 245
 hell *see also* *Satan* 113, 115, 119, 127, 199
 Henry II, King of England 4, 16, 223; his treasure 4n9, 7, 43, 135 esp. n52
 Henry I, Count of Bar-le-Duc 225–7
 Henry II, Count of Champagne 63–6, 231
 Henry of the Hospital 7, 127–9
 Henry de Marci, Cardinal-Bishop of Albano 58, 97
 Heraclius *see* *Eraclius*
 History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria 32
 Holy Land *see* *Outremer*
 Holy Sepulchre 6, 25, 32, 42, 111, 199, 205, 211, 219, 245, 254
 Hospitallers 13, 24, 49–50, 74, 123, 133, 135, 151, 159, 161, 191, 201, 247, 251, 252, 253
 Howard, Lord William 82–3, 84–5, 92
 Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury 77, 97, 235
 Hugh de Beauchamp 4n9, 247
 Hugh, Count of Saint-Pol 29
 Hugh III Embriaco 183n40
 Humphrey IV, Lord of Toron 5, 231, 233
 Hungary 223
- Ibelin (castle) 165, 191n149
 Ibelin family *see also* *Balian of Ibelin*; Baldwin of Ramla 5, 41, 45, 49–50
 Ibn al-Adīm 32
 Ibn al-Athīr 31–2, 33
 Ibn Shaddād 31, 32
 Iconium 255
 ‘Imād al-Dīn 5, 18, 31, 32, 33, 60, 96
 India 245
 Innocent III, Pope 88
 interpreters 243, 245
 Isaac (biblical figure) 252
 Isaac II Angelos, Byzantine Emperor 42n188
 Isabella of Jerusalem 3, 5, 65–6, 231, 233
 Isaiah (biblical figure) 209
 al-Iṣfahānī *see* ‘Imād al-Dīn
 Ishmael (biblical figure) 127

- Islam 5, 14, 34–6, 40, 181, 217, 223, 229, 243–5; conversion to 8, 43, 179–81, 235
- Israel (biblical figure) 195
- Italy 241
- Itinerarium peregrinorum 1, 2, 9, 23, 26, 28, 33, 34, 63–4, 66, 78, 96, 237
- Ivo of Vieuxpont 233
- ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Īsā ibn Mālik 34
- Jabal Quruntul *see* **Mount of Temptation**
- Jabala 185n141, 247
- Jacob’s Well 8, 177, 250
- Jaffa 8, 33, 65–6, 167, 169, 247
- Jakelin de Mailly 7, 127–9
- James of Avesnes 225
- James the Just (biblical figure) 217
- Janin 251
- Japhep 129, 252
- Jawlan 135
- Jazira 245
- Jean de Belesme 49
- Jeremiah (biblical figure) 209, 211, 219
- Jericho 8, 32, 177, 254
- Jerome 59–60, 177n131, 251
- Jerusalem *see also* **Kingdom of Jerusalem** 4–5, 7, 8, 15, 17, 25, 29, 44, 49, 59, 62, 123, 131, 133, 167, 185, 189n146, 191, 205, 223, 245, 247; 1099 massacre 40; 1187 ransom 43, 45, 61; 1187 siege 9, 10–11, 12, 24, 33, 38–9, 41, 42–3, 96, 193, 199–217, 248; gates of 6, 34, 62, 67, 109, 165, 169, 175, 177, 199, 215–17, 253; Ḥaram al-Sharīf 8, 18, 40, 217–19; holy sites within *see also* **Dome of the Rock**
- Jesus 22, 113, 117, 129, 135, 139–41, 157, 171, 173, 177, 179, 181, 193, 195–7, 209, 211, 217, 221, 239, 251
- Jezreel 137, 173, 252
- Jezreel Valley 8, 252
- Joachim of Fiore 14
- Job (biblical figure) 173, 251
- John, King of England 77, 87, 88
- John the Baptist 175, 249, 255
- John of Ibelin 50
- John Patricius 41
- John of Würzburg 45–6, 250
- Jordan River 7, 129, 137, 139, 143, 177, 250
- Josaphat (valley) 201, 203
- Joscelin III, Count of Edessa (= of Courtenay) 5, 45, 97, 147n75, 179n132
- Joscius, Archbishop of Tyre 9, 22, 115n14, 131, 223
- Joseph (Old Testament figure) 173, 239
- Jubail 8, 18, 183, 185n141
- Judah 135
- Judas 8, 43, 211
- Judea 131, 135, 223, 239
- Kafr Kannā 250
- Kafr Malik 41
- Kafr Sabt 250
- Kedron River 197
- Kerak 6, 39
- Khirbat Bal’ama 251
- Khirbat Qana 250
- Kilij Arslan II, Seljuk Sultan of Rūm 225
- Kingdom of Jerusalem 17, 111, 131–3, 145
- Kishon River 137, 252
- La Fève 19, 20, 173, 252
- La Garde 185n141
- La Roche Guillaume 185n141
- Lajjun 173, 252
- Latakia 185n141
- Latrun 191n149
- Latin Continuation of William of Tyre 109n3
- Lazarus (biblical figure) 195
- lepers 247n3
- Letard, Archbishop of Nazareth 131
- letters 14–16
- Levant *see* **Outremer**
- Libellus de expugnatione terrae sanctae per Saladinum: author 9–13, 17–20, 23–5, 29, 33–5, 41–4, 47–8, 50, 96–7, 201, 205, 207; biblical resonances 51–3, 55–6, 58–9, 61–2, 257–60; the continuation 63–7; date 78, 81, 96–8; Latinity 53–5, 89; manuscripts of 9, 13, 26–7, 63–4, 67–95; marginalia 13, 26–7, 63–4, 68, 72, 74–5, 83, 84–5, 89–90, 92–3, 191; previous editions of 12–13, 98–105; previous translations 102, 105; purpose 5–6, 14, 58; relationship to Old French texts 36–44, 50; structure 2–3, 9, 14–18; title 1n1

- Lord's Leap (settlement) 8, 19, 25, 173, 252
 Lucifer *see* Satan
 Ludwig III, Landgrave of Thuringia 227
 Lydda 8, 169, 191n149, 247 Bishop of,
see Bernard, Bishop of Lydda
 Lyon *Eraclēs* 1, 37, 40, 50
- Ma'ale Adumim *see* Red Cistern
 Maccabees 24, 50–51, 115, 253
 Mammon 42, 207
 Maria Komnēnē 50
 Maria of Montferrat, Queen of
 Jerusalem 50
 Martène, Edmond and Durand, Ursin
 1n1, 12, 90, 101–3
 Martha (Lazarus's sister) 195–7
 martyrdom *see also* Maccabees 7, 19,
 22, 42, 51–3, 58–60, 99–102, 115, 123,
 129–31, 167, 205–7
 Mary (Jesus's mother) 171, 193, 197,
 205, 217, 219
 Mary (Lazarus's sister) 195–7
 Maskana 7, 147, 246, 252–3
 Mauritania 239
 Melchizedek (biblical figure) 117
 Melisende, Queen of Jerusalem 45
 Mirabel 8, 33, 167, 247
 miracles 7, 129, 137, 139–41, 231
 Mizpah 195
 monks *see also* Cistercians, Mount
 Shiloh 44–50, 199, 223, 253
 Montjoie *see* Mount Shiloh
 Montjoie de Jerusalem 25–6,
 167, 201, 253
 Moses 44, 55, 195
 Mount Carmel *see also* Haifa
 169, 253
 Mount Garizim 177, 250
 Mount Gilboa, Mountains of Gilboa
 137, 252
 Mount Modin 167, 253
 Mount of Olives 18, 26, 197, 201, 249
 Mount of Precipitation *see* Lord's Leap
 Mount Someron 175, 253
 Mount Shiloh (= Nabi Samwil) 18, 25,
 44–8, 167, 193–5, 253
 Mount Tabor 137, 173, 177, 247
 Mount of Temptation 8, 19,
 32, 254
 Mount Zion 131, 211, 219
 Muḥammad 35, 179, 223, 243, 245
- Muslims *see also* Islam; animals,
 Muslims represented as 52, 219;
 different types of 34, 113, 243,
 represented as greedy 8, 20, 113, 119,
 129, 169, 175; represented as prideful
 143, 169, 179, 181, 199, 201
 Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökböri 60
- Nabi Samwil *see* Mount Shiloh
 Nablus 8, 20, 41, 49, 115n14, 175, 250,
 252; council of barons at 4–5, 48–9,
 109n4
 Nahr al-Kalb *see* Dog River
 Na'im 8, 177, 251
 Nazareth 7, 8, 20, 53, 59, 60, 113,
 129–31, 137, 171, 247, 250, 252
 nomadism 34, 169
- Old French Continuation of William of
 Tyre 34
 orality 10, 11
 Outremer *see also* Kingdom of
 Jerusalem 17–18, 25, 29, 111
- Palestine 165, 239
 Parthia 239
 Pasque di Riveri 21, 42
 Pere II, King of Aragón 50
 Persia 239
 Peter, Prior of the Holy Sepulchre 22
 Peter (apostle) 139–41
 Peter of Blois, 62, 97
 Peter of Cornwall 79, 81, 96
 Pharaoh (biblical figure) 149n83, 239
 Philip II, King of France 2, 4, 9, 28,
 42n188, 63, 64, 66, 79–80, 223,
 231, 237
 Philip of Alsace 247
 Philip of Dreux, Bishop of Beauvais 227
 Philip of Ibelin 50
 Philistines (region of) 163
 Phoenicia (region) 8, 163, 181, 254
 Precipice *see* Lord's Leap
 Premonstratensians *see* Mount Shiloh
 Prester John 94
 Prutz, Hans 12, 13, 14–18, 23, 103–4
- qāḏī al-Fāḏīl *see* al-Fāḏīl
 al-Qaḥwānī *see* Cavan
 Quarantena, Quarantaine *see* Mount of
 Temptation
 Qunayṭra 254

- Rainer of Nablus 41, 45, 50, 207
 Ralph, Abbot of Coggeshall 9–10, 12–13, 23, 26–9, 33, 46–7, 64, 72, 76–7, 79–80, 85, 87, 89–90, 93, 96, 98, 99–104; borrows from *Libellus* 246–8
 Ralph of Hauterive, Archdeacon of Colchester 26, 85, 231
 Ralph, Bishop of Sebaste 20, 175
 incl. n127
 Rama 44–6
 Ramla 8, 45, 169, 191n149
 rape 60
 Ra's al-Mā' 113, 254
 Raymond of Antioch 155n89
 Raymod III, Count of Tripoli 3–6, 7, 8, 19, 20, 22, 24, 30, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48–9, 55, 74, 109, 111, 115, 125n31, 131–3, 135, 143, 147, 151–5 esp. n89, 247, 248, 250, 251; alleged conversion to Islam 5n18
 Red Cistern (castle) 8, 177, 254
 refugees 11 esp. n39, 167, 175
 Reynald de Châtillon 8, 19, 48–9, 50, 109, 135, 161, 247
 Reynald Grenier, Lord of Sidon and Beaufort (= of Sidon) 8, 45, 49, 97, 115n14, 135, 147n75, 155, 183n138
 Richard I, King of England 2, 9, 46–7, 63–6, 223, 231, 237
 Richard of Cornwall 46
 Richard de Templo 2, 23, 63, 78–9, 81, 85, 96
 Robert II, Count of Dreux and Braine 225–7
 Roger of Howden 4, 13, 26, 64, 66, 80–81
 Roger des Moulins 3–4, 7, 20, 22, 49, 60, 115, 123
 Roger I de Mowbray 4n9, 247 esp. n3
 Rufinus, Bishop of Acre 7, 8, 20–22, 42, 137 esp. n55, 155, 246
 Rupert of Deutz 59

 Sa'd al-Dīn 6–7
 Safad 252
 Şaffūriyah 7, 8, 19, 38, 113, 135, 147, 161 esp. n101, 250
 Sahyun (Saône) 185n141
 Saif al-Dīn 8, 10, 33, 163–9, 185, 219, 247, 252
 St Elias 33, 255
 St George (place) *see* Lydda
 St Job (castle) 251
 St John in the Woods (monastery) 48
 St Samuel (place) *see* Mount Shiloh
 St Victor (library) 88–9, 93–5, 99, 100–101
 Saleph River 225
 Salvation (monastery) 48
 Şalāḥ al-Dīn 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 19, 28, 31, 33, 34, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 56, 74, 87, 89, 113, 135, 139, 149n83, 151, 161–3, 169, 179–91, 199, 201–3, 207, 209, 215, 223, 225, 227–9, 233, 237, 246–7, 248, 254, 256; exchange with Frederick Barbarossa 2, 9, 66–7, 239–45; negotiations with the Jerusalemites 207–9
 Samaria 135, 175, 185, 239, 253
 Samson (biblical figure) 187
 Samuel (biblical figure) 44–6, 193
 Saphet *see* Safad
 Şarafand 8, 19, 25, 32, 183 esp. n139, 255
 Satan 113, 179, 201
 Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa' *see* History of the Patriarchs
 Sebaste *see also* Samaria 8, 20, 175, 253–4, 255
 Second Crusade 247n3
 Sepulchre *see* Holy Sepulchre
 Shafa 'Amr 179n132, 250
 Sharon (plains) 169, 255
 Sibylla, Queen of Jerusalem 3–5, 6, 21, 48–9, 62, 64, 74, 97, 109–10, 131–3, 247–8
 Sidon 8, 19, 163n102, 183, 247
 Simon the Leper (biblical figure) 197
 slavery 43, 113, 171n115, 211 esp. n196
 Sodom and Gomorrah 127, 171
 Solomon (biblical figure) 209
 Sorek 175, 254, 255
 Stevenson, Joseph 12–13, 103, 104
 Stubbs, William 2, 8, 13, 100
 Sultan of Iconium *see* Kilij Arslan II
 Symeon the Just (biblical figure) 217
 Syria 239

 Table (place) 129, 252, 254
 Tanis 165, 239, 256
 Tanner, Thomas 82
 Taqi al-Dīn 179n132, 183n138, 231, 246

INDEX

- Templars, the 13, 23–5, 32, 51, 133, 135,
 147, 151, 159, 161, 167, 173, 177, 187,
 225, 247, 251, 252, 253, 254
 Temple Mount *see* Ḥaram al-Sharīf
 Templum Domini *see* Dome of the Rock
 Terricus *see* Thierry, preceptor of the
 Knights Templar
 Theodoric (pilgrim) 46, 250
 Thierry, preceptor of the Knights
 Templar 15
 Thierry II de Montfaucon, Archbishop
 of Besançon 233
 Third Crusade 14, 31, 58, 67, 78, 97,
 223–37
 Thomas Beckett 12
 Thomas Patricius 41, 50, 207
 Thomas de St Bertin 49–50
 Tiberias 5, 7, 115, 123, 125n31, 129, 133,
 139–43, 147, 151, 161, 246, 252
 Tibnīn (Toron) 19, 163n102, 191n149
 Til 25, 129, 256
 Toron *see* Tibnīn
 torture 20, 175
 Tower of David 201
 Tripoli 135, 189, 245
 True Cross *see* crosses
 turcopoles 151
 Turkmens 34, 243
 Tyre 8, 10, 24, 50, 65–6, 96–7, 183, 225,
 227, 233, 245, 247, 251
 Uḡḡuwāna *see* Cavan
 Urban II, Pope 17
 Urban III, Pope 15, 16
 visions 28
 Werner of St Blasien 60
 William le Keu 49
 William of Tyre 21n86, 22, 25, 37, 39,
 49, 223n221, 254
 William V, Marquis of Montferrat
 159 *esp.* n95
 Willoughby, James 9
 women 18, 42, 43, 60, 113, 167, 171n115,
 199, 207, 209, 211n196, 213
 Zion *see* Mount Zion